

THE
QUARTERLY
CHRISTIAN SPECTATOR.

Vol. II.---No. 2.

JUNE, 1831.

ART. I.—REVIEW OF THE LIFE OF MOHAMMED.

The Life of Mohammed ; Founder of the Religion of Islam, and of the Empire of the Saracens. By the Rev. GEORGE BUSH, A. M. New-York, J. & J. Harper.

WE took up this little work with three considerations in our minds, which served to awaken an interest in its favor. We recollected that it is one of a series of volumes, which have thus far been highly interesting and instructive ; and which if placed in every family to the exclusion of those flimsy productions which only enervate and corrupt the mind, might be of incalculable advantage to the youth of our country. We remembered, too, that it comes from an American pen ; and we are always gratified to notice any indications of a growing confidence in our own resources, and a disposition on the part of our booksellers to call them forth. And lastly, the work before us promised without the trouble of long research, to make our readers acquainted with the life and character of one of the most extraordinary men, who has yet appeared in the long developement of the great drama of human existence. And now that we have perused it, we are gratified to say, that in our opinion it is in every respect worthy of a place in the selection of which it forms a part ;—is highly creditable to the taste and judgment of the author ;—and furnishes a portraiture as full and faithful as can now be drawn, of the great founder of the Islam faith.

In making our readers acquainted with this work, we propose to draw from it a brief outline of Mohammed's life ; to notice the means by which his doctrines were at first propagated, and the causes to which their perpetuity may be ascribed ; and to remark

on the present state and future prospects of this master-piece of imposture and delusion.

Mohammed, son of Abdallah, was born at Mecca, in Arabia, A. D. 569. His family belonged to the Koreish, the most powerful and honorable of all the Arabian tribes; and his ancestors, through successive generations, had enjoyed the highest offices and honors of their native city. His great-grandfather Hashem, held the first place in the government of Mecca, and was keeper of the keys of the Caaba, or sacred temple. From him, the appellation of *Hashemites* has been applied to the kindred of the prophet; and the chief magistrate, both at Mecca and Medina, who must always be of Mohammed's family, is, even to this day, styled the "Prince of the Hashemites." The power and influence of Hashem were inherited by his son Abdol Motaleb. From him was descended Abdallah, who, as he was one of thirteen sons, and died in early life, probably soon after the birth of the prophet, appears to have possessed but little wealth; and of that, the greater part was engrossed by his rapacious brothers, so that five camels and a female slave seem to have constituted the whole inheritance of his son Mohammed.

In order to invest the prophet's character with becoming dignity, his Arabian biographers relate a multitude of marvelous occurrences, which are said to have happened at his birth. They assert for instance, that at that very moment, a supernatural flood of light illuminated the whole of Syria;—that the waters of the Lake Sawa were entirely dried up;—that the towers of the king of Persia's palace were demolished by an earthquake; that the sacred fire of the Persians was extinguished;—that all the evil spirits which had inhabited the moon and stars were expelled from their abodes, and were never after able to animate idols or deliver oracles on earth;—that the child was no sooner born than he fell prostrate in an act of adoration; exclaiming "God is great! There is no God but God, and I am his prophet!" The name Mohammed, they affirm, was given him by his grand-father Motaleb, at an entertainment provided on the occasion, accompanied by an intimation of his extraordinary character.

It has been already mentioned that Mohammed early lost his father. When he was about six years of age, his mother likewise, whose name was Amina, and who was also descended from a distinguished family of the Koreish tribe, was removed from him by death. Thus left a dependant orphan, he was taken into the house and family of his grand-father, who had ever manifested towards him a sincere affection. Only two years elapsed, however, when the venerable Motaleb himself was called to pay the debt of nature. At his death, he committed his young charge to his son Abu

Taleb, with the most solemn injunctions, that he should treat him with the utmost kindness and respect. These injunctions seem to have been faithfully complied with by the uncle of Mohammed; who gave him such an education as his countrymen usually received. And it was manifestly with the design merely of making the composition of the Koran appear more miraculous, that Mohammed affected to be wholly unable either to read or write.

Of the childhood and youth of the prophet, few particulars have been preserved. Destined by his uncle to the profession of a merchant, at the age of thirteen he was taken into Syria with a trading caravan. Among the many ominous occurrences with which his followers represent this journey to have been marked, it is related, that at Bozrah, a certain Boheira, a Nestorian monk, on seeing him amid a crowd in the market-place, seized him by the hand exclaiming, "There will be something wonderful in this boy; for when he approached he appeared covered with a cloud." And when Abu Taleb was about to return to Mecca, Boheira, it is said, repeated his prediction, adding, "Depart with this child, and take great care that he does not fall into the hands of the Jews; for your nephew will one day become a very wonderful person." Early christian writers have conjectured, that this prophetic monk was an apostate Jew or christian; that Mohammed was instructed by him in the Jewish and christian scriptures; and that they in concert, framed that system of imposture which was long afterwards given to the world with such astonishing success. Of the correctness of this opinion, however, nothing can with certainty be now determined.

At the age of fourteen, or according to others, when nearly twenty, Mohammed assumed the character of a soldier; serving under his uncle, who commanded the Arabian troops in a war between two rival tribes. Success attended their arms; and probably the future leader of the faithful, acquired at this period that knowledge of the arts of war, which qualified him for the enterprises of his after life.

At about the age of twenty-five, by the assistance of his uncle, he was introduced into the service of a rich trading widow of his native city, who had been twice married, and whose name was Cadijah. As her factor or agent, he took a second journey of three years into Syria; and so satisfactorily did he manage her concerns, that on his return, she rewarded him with her hand and fortune; and till the age of sixty-four, when she died, she enjoyed the undivided affection of her husband. By her he had eight children, of whom his eldest daughter alone survived him. And such was the prophet's respect for the memory of his wife, that after her death, he placed her in the rank of the four perfect women.

The next twelve years of his life Mohammed appears to have passed in affluence, prosecuting probably, his mercantile pursuits. There can be little doubt, however, that during this period, his mind was occupied in arranging and maturing the daring plan of his future imposition. The motives which originally induced him to embark in this adventurous enterprise, it is now, of course, utterly impossible to ascertain. It has been supposed by some, that, at least, in the commencement of his career, he was a sincere enthusiast; but the marks of a careful policy which are impressed upon his whole scheme, forbid so charitable a supposition. It seems more probable, that possessing an active and ambitious mind, and having acquired by travel and careful observation, enlarged views of the existing state of the world, he formed his design with the same motives which actuated Alexander, Cæsar, and Napoleon.

The prophet was now nearly forty years of age; and his plans being fully ripe, he proceeded to put them into execution. He commenced with the practice of retiring daily to a cave in the vicinity of Mecca, called the cave of Hera, under pretense of spending his time in fasting, meditation, and prayer. After some time, he began to communicate to his wife, on returning home at evening, accounts of having been favored with supernatural visions and revelations in his retirement. Cadijah was at first incredulous. But as her husband persisted in his asseverations, her infidelity soon began to waver; and when at length he repeated to her what he affirmed to be a part of a message delivered to him by the angel Gabriel in person, she gave it her implicit credence; declaring, "By Him in whose hands her soul was, that she trusted her husband would indeed one day become the prophet of his nation." In the height of her joy, she immediately imparted what she had heard to one Waraka, her cousin, who was a christian, and tolerably well versed in the Jewish and christian scriptures. He cordially assented to her opinion respecting the divine mission of her husband; and it has been conjectured that he was not unacquainted with the secret of Mohammed's enterprise. The next who enlisted under the leader of the faithful, was his servant Zeid Ebn Hareth; and soon after his cousin Ali, the son of Abu Taleb was numbered among the proselytes. His fourth and most important convert, was Abubeker, a powerful citizen of Mecca; and by his influence Othman, Zobair, Saad, Abdorraman, and Abu Obeidah, all persons of authority and rank, were induced to adopt the Islam faith, and were afterwards among the most efficient supporters, both of the political and religious power of the impostor.

Having thus, by four years of patient effort, attached these nine individuals to his cause, Mohammed, now forty-four years of age, determined on declaring his mission in a public manner. For this

purpose he gave an entertainment to his kindred of the Koreish tribe ; and when they were assembled at his table, he arose, and declared to them his apostolic character and claims. His pretensions were at first received with laughter ; but when he persisted in demanding credence and respect, their mirth at length gave place to indignation, and the assembly broke up in complete confusion. Notwithstanding this repulse, however, the prophet proceeded to preach openly to the citizens of Mecca ; declaring himself to be commissioned of God to recall the world to the true religion ;—promising paradise to the faithful, but denouncing the vengeance of heaven against unbelievers. But here, his success, at first, was little better than among his relatives. He was reproached by different classes, as a sorcerer, a fanatic, and a liar. All this he bore with surprising patience ; taking care, however, in each successive portion of the Koran, which by a master-stroke of policy was revealed to him by separate chapters, through the long period of twenty-three years, to answer the cavil of his enemies, and to threaten them with judgments if they continued to reject him. The demand for a miracle in confirmation of his apostleship, with which he was incessantly assailed, the prophet at first evaded ; referring his opposers to the Koran, as the standing miracle of his religion. But afterward, when he was promulgating his doctrines at the head of a victorious army, his answer was, that Moses and Jesus had formerly been sent with the power of working miracles, and yet had been rejected, and therefore God had now sent him, a prophet of another order, *commissioned to enforce belief by the power of the sword.*

At the end of five years from the commencement of his mission, Mohammed found himself surrounded by forty followers. This success, together with the increasing zeal of the apostle, so exasperated the chief men of the tribe of Koreish, that but for the protection of his uncle Abu Taleb, who it will be recollected was the first magistrate of Mecca, he would probably have fallen a sacrifice to their resentment. They assailed his adherents with determined persecution ; and in consequence, permission was given to all who chose, to seek safety by flight. Near the end of the seventh year of the mission, Mohammed was left a widower by the decease of his wife Cadijah, who had been the patient sharer of his faith and labors. About the same time, also, he had the misfortune to be deprived of his venerable uncle ; and being thus left alone and unprotected, he himself found it necessary to retire for a season from the scene of conflict. He however soon returned, and preached boldly to the crowds of pilgrims who visited the Caaba. New proselytes rewarded his exertions ; among whom were six of the inhabitants of Medina, who on their return home,

extolled, in the highest terms, the prophet and his new religion. In the mean time, from motives of policy, Mohammed had married Ayesha, the daughter of Abubeker, and Sawda, the daughter Zama, thus attaching to his interest two of the principal men of Mecca.

Mohammed had now reached the twelfth year of his ministry; a year memorable among his followers as the era of his pretended journey from Mecca to Jerusalem, and thence to the seventh heaven, in one night, under the guidance of the angel Gabriel; for the particulars of which, we must refer the reader to the work before us. He had become notorious, not only in his own city, but also abroad, as a professed apostle;—had won over a considerable number to the faith, among whom were several of the highest rank and influence; and from this period his cause advanced with a greatly accelerated progress. Our limits will not permit us to follow him to the end of his career with the particularity with which we have traced him hitherto. We must content ourselves therefore, with merely noticing the general course of events which marked the remainder of his life.

During this, and the ensuing year, two embassies waited on him from the city of Medina; the first consisting of twelve men who swore allegiance to the prophet, and requested that a missionary might be sent to instruct them in the faith, which was accordingly done; the other, of seventy-three men and two women who were converts to Islamism, and some others, offering the apostle an asylum in their city, or any assistance in their power against his adversaries. This offer, as his enemies were now more than ever intent on his destruction, Mohammed determined to accept; and with great difficulty succeeded in effecting his escape. This flight, called in the Arabic the Hejira or Hejra, has become the grand era of all Mohammedan nations, as the year of our Savior's birth is throughout the nations of christendom. It took place A. D. 622, in the fifty-third year of the prophet's age.

Five hundred of the citizens of Medina came out to meet and welcome the leader of the faithful. Mounted on a camel with an umbrella spread over his head, and a turban unfurled instead of a banner, he made his solemn entrance, into the city. And now his affairs began to assume a more promising aspect. He found himself at the head of an army devoted to his person, obedient to his will, and blind believers in his holy office. Nor were they long allowed to remain inactive. Throwing aside persuasion as an inefficient weapon, he declared himself authorized to use the sword as the unanswerable argument for his divine commission; and entered immediately on a career of military enterprises, which resulted in the complete success of his imposture, and in the establish-

ment of an empire, which, under his successors, came to embrace a large portion of the eastern world.

In his earlier military expeditions Mohammed was repeatedly defeated ; greatly to the disparagement of his apostolical authority. By attributing these misfortunes to the sins of the people, however, and by the most determined perseverance, he soon retrieved his character, and acquired a power which was irresistible. His old enemies the Meccans, were soon reduced to entire subjection, and his ascendancy in his native city became undisputed and complete. The army of the neighboring tribes, who had united to check his rising power, was entirely overthrown. And, lastly, Moseilama who had set up as a rival prophet, and had succeeded in gaining a considerable party, was defeated and slain, and his heresy extinguished.

Mohammed had now the satisfaction of witnessing the complete success of his consummate system of delusion. After the conquest of Mecca and the Koreish, all Arabia had submitted to his political and religious usurpation ; he had spread among the surrounding nations the terror of his arms ; and had laid broad and deep the foundations of an extensive and enduring empire. But his career was now hastening to a close. In the course of his victories, he had captured Chaibar, a city of Arab Jews. Here he took up his quarters at the house of one of the principal inhabitants, whose daughter inserted poison into a shoulder of mutton which was served up at an entertainment. His companion had no sooner begun to eat, than he was seized with convulsions and died upon the spot. But the prophet by rejecting the greater part of what he had taken into his mouth, escaped immediate death. The fatal drug, however, had found its way into his system ; and now, after having conflicted with its ravages for more than three years, his constitution was rapidly yielding to its consuming influence. For several days previous to his dissolution, he was aware of its approach, and awaited it with the utmost firmness and composure. Three days before his death, he caused himself to be carried into the mosque, where he addressed his followers for the last time, and gave them his dying benediction. He declared to his attendants, that it had been granted to him that the angel of death should not take away his soul without first respectfully asking his permission—a permission which he was so obliging as to grant. Recovering from a swoon into which he had fallen during one of the paroxysms of his disease, he raised his eyes and exclaimed “ O God ! pardon my sins. Yes, I come among my fellow-laborers on high ;” then having sprinkled his face with water with his own hand, shortly after, he expired.

The remains of Mohammed were deposited at Medina, beneath

the floor of the room in which he breathed his last. The story of his body being suspended in the air in an iron coffin, by the power of a loadstone, and that too at Mecca, is wholly a fabrication. His tomb is of plain mason-work, placed upon the level surface of the ground; and thousands of pilgrims are continually resorting thither to render their homage to the leader of the faithful.

What we have now given is only a brief epitome of the work before us. The reader will find in the filling up of this sketch, a variety of interesting details relative to the character, doctrines, and times of the impostor. And in an appendix, Mr. Bush has made a very ingenious and striking application of several prophecies of scripture, to this wonderful individual, and his equally wonderful system of delusion.

We proceed now, as we proposed, to inquire how it came to pass, that so gross an imposition as the Moslem faith, should ever have been thus effectually palmed upon the world. After Mohammed had acquired sufficient power, the sword, as we have seen, was his unanswerable argument. But what were the causes whose influence gained him a footing at the outset, when he stood forth alone, as the champion of a new religion? In our view, the three following, are those to which the success of Islamism is chiefly to be attributed;—the peculiar moral condition of society at the time when it was broached,—the personal character and apparent sincerity of the prophet,—and lastly, the genius and spirit of the scheme itself.

The age in which Mohammed lived, was eminently favorable to such an enterprise, as that in which he ventured to embark. Christianity, which had early been diffused throughout nearly the whole of the Roman empire, no longer retained its primitive purity and glory. The days of Martyr and Polycarp, of Cyprian and Gregory, had passed away; and as the fires of persecution had been permitted to expire, so the flame of piety had declined almost to extinction. The unity of the faith had been broken by numerous and conflicting heresies. The eastern and western churches were contending with great violence, for ecclesiastical supremacy. And finally a cloud of ignorance had settled down upon the whole face of society, amid whose darkness men groped their uncertain way, ready to follow any glimmer of light which might dawn upon them, without inquiring whether it were a beam from the Sun of Righteousness, or the glare of a bewildering meteor. How *could* the way have been more effectually prepared, for the introduction of a new religion, which was at once specious in its claims, licentious in its requisitions, and imposing in its whole character?

Nor is it easy to conceive of an individual, whose circumstances and personal endowments should be better fitted to ensure success in the execution of so difficult a design, than were those of the Arabian impostor. Descended from one of the most distinguished families of Mecca, and surrounded, as he was at the opening of his ministry, with all the gratifications which wealth could furnish, he was the last man to be suspected of being actuated by interested motives. He had acquired by travel an acquaintance with the shattered and decayed condition of society; and had gathered from extensive observation, a thorough knowledge of mankind. He inherited from nature, an active, penetrating, and energetic mind; a steady, yet adventurous and aspiring spirit. His patience seemed inexhaustable; his perseverance unyielding; his self-possession imperturbable. Add to this, that, in the commencement of his career, he was rigid in his habits and devout in his deportment, and that his person and address were eminently prepossessing, and it will appear less surprising, that those about him though at first they slighted, should at length respect, believe, and almost worship him.

But although every circumstance, connected with his person or the times in which he lived, seemed favorable to the success of Mohammed's enterprise, yet after all, the *peculiar character* of his religion, seems to us to have been the weight which turned the balance in his favor. We have not room to state particularly the doctrines of the system. The reader will find them in detail, in the appendix to the life. We shall, however, notice some of those general features of the scheme, to which its reception and establishment must chiefly be ascribed.

And first we would observe, that the religion of the Koran presented a medium between the pure requirements of the bible on the one hand, and the gross absurdities of idolatry on the other, which was exactly suited to gratify the prevailing taste. For while christianity was too holy and uncompromising to be acceptable if uncorrupted, the mass of society were sufficiently well informed to be but poorly satisfied with idolatry; and to adhere to it with no very strong attachment. A faith, therefore, whose fundamental article was the Unity of God, and which at the same time dispensed with all that was spiritual and self-denying; thus seeming to rise above the absurdity of polytheism, while in fact it imposed no new obligation to holiness of heart and life—was just adapted to meet the feelings and the views of men; and of course, to find a welcome and credulous reception.

To this, in the next place, it may be added, that the *punishment* denounced against those who rejected the message of the prophet,

was most fearful and appalling. Thus we find in the Koran the the Most High represented as using the following language.

And verily, this book is an admonition unto the pious; and we well know there are some of you who charge the same with imposture: but it shall surely be an occasion of grievous sighing unto the infidels; for it is the truth of a certainty. Because he is an adversary to our signs, I will afflict him with grievous calamities; for he hath devised contumelious expressions to ridicule the Koran. May he be cursed! I will cast him to be burned in hell. And what shall make thee understand what hell is? It leaveth not any thing unconsumed, neither doth it suffer any thing to escape; it searcheth men's flesh; over the same are nineteen angels appointed. We have appointed none but angels to preside over hell-fire. Verily we have prepared for the unbelievers chains, and collars, and burning fire. Verily those who disbelieve our signs we will surely cast out to be broiled in hell-fire: and when their skins shall be well burned, we will give them other skins in exchange, that they may taste the sharper torment. pp. 66, 67.

A system backed by sanctions such as these must have commended itself powerfully to the hearts of those, who had little confidence in any of the prevailing forms of religion, and who of course must have felt, that should it at last prove false they could lose nothing by accepting it, and that should it turn out true, they must lose every thing by its rejection.

But again;—if the doom with which Islamism threatened unbelievers was highly terrible, the *rewards* which it promised to the faithful were in an equal degree alluring to the depraved and polluted minds of men. In this respect, the state of future happiness which is promised by the Koran, resembles every other which has ever been imagined in accordance with the corrupt wishes of the human heart. Christianity alone, reveals a heaven into which “nothing that defileth shall enter;” a bliss which is entirely pure and spiritual, and wholly uncongenial with the natural taste of man. The views of darkened, biased reason have ever borne the impress of sensuality. Thus when the savage has ventured to send forward a thought to the land of souls, he has pictured to himself boundless forests and exhaustless game, an eye to direct his aim, which shall be undimmed by the progress of age, and a nerve to draw the bow, which shall never lose its vigor. The elysium of refined antiquity in like manner, was merely the perfection of those enjoyments which had afforded the highest delight on earth. So we find it described by Virgil:

Devenere lucos laetos, et amœna vireta
Fortunatorum nemorum, sedesque beatas:
Largior hic campos æther et lumine vestit
Purpureo: solemque suum sua sidera norunt.
Pars in gramineis exercent membra palæstris,
Contendunt ludo, et fulva luctantur arena:

Pars pedibus plaudunt choreas, et carmina dicunt.
 Nec non Threïcius longo cum veste sacerdos
 Obloquitur numeris septem discrimina vocum:
 Jamque eadem digitis, jam pectine pulsat eburno. *Ænerd* 6. 633.

The lover of rural life, was there to be surrounded with woods and streams and fields, all gilded with the brightness of perpetual spring. The lyre of the poet, instead of being broken at the grave, was there to wake to loftier numbers, and to warble richer melody. The philosopher, with expanded views, and a clearer mental vision, would discourse upon his favorite topics, in groves more quiet and beautiful than those of Academus. And thus every class was to find its happiness in the full gratification of its ruling passion.

Of this disposition of mankind to be captivated with the idea of a future happiness congenial in its nature with their present inclinations, the Moslem prophet availed himself with consummate art, and, we may add, with complete success. He well knew the ardent temperament and glowing passions of his countrymen; and he applied a torch, which, as the result has shown, was but too well fitted to inflame the nations of the East. His paradise was of such a nature, as to appeal most powerfully to the strongest passions of the heart. The true believer should there repose with unalloyed delight in the bowers of sensual indulgence, and drink, without satiety, at a thousand streams of animal pleasure.

There him the maids of paradise,
 Impatient to their halls invite;
 And the dark heaven of Howri's eyes,
 On him shall glance forever bright.

The language of the Koran on this subject, is such as follows.

They shall repose on couches, the linings whereof shall be of thick silk interwoven with gold; and the fruit of the two gardens shall be near at hand to gather. Therein shall receive them beauteous damsels, refraining their eyes from beholding any besides their spouses, having complexions like rubies and pearls. Besides these there shall be two other gardens that shall be dressed in eternal verdure. In each of them shall be two fountains pouring forth plenty of water. In each of them shall be fruits, and palmtrees, and pomegranates. Therein shall be agreeable and beauteous damsels, having fine black eyes, and kept in pavilions from public view, whom no man shall have dishonored before their predestined spouses, nor any genius." "They shall dwell in gardens of delight, reposing on couches adorned with gold and precious stones; sitting opposite to one another thereon. Youths, which shall continue in their bloom for ever, shall go round about to attend them, with goblets and beakers, and a cup of flowing wine: their heads shall not ache by drinking the same, neither shall their reason be disturbed." "Upon them shall be garments of fine green silk, and of brocades, and they shall be adorned with bracelets of silver, and their Lord shall give them to drink of a most pure liquor—a cup of wine mixed with the water of Zenjebil, a fountain in paradise named Salsabil." "But those who believe and do that which is right, we will bring into gardens watered by rivers, therein shall they remain for-

ever, and therein shall they enjoy wives free from all infirmities; and we will lead them into perpetual abodes." "For those who fear their Lord will be prepared high apartments in paradise, over which shall be other apartments built; and rivers shall run beneath them." "But for the pious is prepared a place of bliss; gardens planted with trees, and vineyards, and damsels of equal age with themselves and a full cup." pp.71,72.

Unquestionably, to this most fascinating feature in its character, the religion of Islam is in no small degree indebted for its establishment; and to this almost entirely, we are inclined to think, must be ascribed its perpetuity. While however, in these various ways, we attempt to assign the causes to which, in the natural course of things its success is to be attributed, we would not be thought to leave out of view an overruling Providence. He who raised up another, and permitted him to wield the iron sceptre of civil and religious tyranny, that in him he "might show forth his power,"—ruling as he does in the kingdoms of the earth,—undoubtedly in a similar sense, and with like design, raised up the false apostle, and permitted him to become a Scourge of Earth, in comparison with which Attila was but a fairy's wand.

In passing now to our concluding topic, our limits admonish us to be very brief. All who regard with enlightened views the welfare of their species both for this and the coming world, must agree that the vast multitudes who are sitting quietly under the corrupting and destroying thralldom of the Mohammedan imposture, make up one of the darkest shades in the moral picture of mankind. They sleep on enchanted ground; and made torpid by its drowsy atmosphere, they utterly refuse to be awakened. Selfish in their views, ferocious in their dispositions, sensual in their enjoyments, and generally licentious in their manners, they seem but little elevated above mere animal existence. And yet so entirely satisfied are they with this debasement, that to propose to them any improvement in their faith or practice, is regarded as the foulest insult which can be offered to their honor. Such, according to the best authorities, is the condition, and such the character of *one hundred millions*, or nearly one sixth part of the human race.

But appalling as is the view which is here presented, to those who are anxiously looking for the day when the sun of truth shall shine with full and universal splendor, there are some circumstances from which we may take encouragement to hope for a thorough and speedy transformation. The believers in the inspiration of the Koran, are divided into two great classes;—the Sunnites and the Schiites or Seperatists; the former of whom receive and the latter reject the book of apostolic traditions. The Persians who belong to the latter class are somewhat open to conviction; and perhaps a way may thus eventually be prepared for introducing

heaven sufficient to pervade the mass. All the great political changes, too, which have transpired since the commencement of the present century, have resulted in the diminution of Moslem power and influence, while the nations of christendom have been making an onward progress. Prophecy also, if it is not grossly misapprehended, bids us expect at no distant period the downfall of this colossus of impiety. And finally, though the edifice seems built on a strong foundation, and though its columns of darkness have stood unshaken through successive ages, its sudden demolition would be no more surprising than was its first erection. Only let the prayers and efforts of the christian world be steadily directed toward such a consummation, and it need not be doubted for a moment, that He by whose permission it was reared, will blot it from existence, and erect upon its ruins, his own kingdom of righteousness and peace.

ART. II.—LETTER ON THE ROMAN CAMPAGNA.

My dear Friend,—The Roman Campagna, or plain, is so important in the history of the world, that I think you will be gratified with a brief account of several excursions through parts of it; one of which in particular occupied me several days, and enabled me perhaps to see it more thoroughly than most travelers. Still I would not have you believe, that I have not left much unseen, especially along the sea-coast of ancient Latium south of the Tiber; which, being almost depopulated, affords few or no accommodations for travelers, and has nothing to show except the ruins of Antium, Ardea, Lavinium, and Laurentium. I mean to say the least possible concerning ruins; for the description of an edifice still standing can hardly be made intelligible, and that of one nearly destroyed is very often but a “beggarly account” of brick and mortar, to which perhaps only the conjectures of antiquaries have attached a certain name and use; while the unprejudiced eye sees in it nothing but rubbish, and the sober mind is content with reflecting on it as a scene of desolation, and a mockery of the works of man. At the same time, I cannot prevail upon myself to pass by remains of early times in entire silence, for they connect more powerfully than any thing else, one’s feelings with the past; nor can I willingly view them with a sceptical eye, whenever they can be made with any probability to illustrate the truth of history.

To begin then with the subject of this letter. I started early in the morning of March 24th, for Albano, distant fourteen miles from Rome. The carriage road to this town is the post route to Naples, which as far as the eleventh mile pursues a modern track; at that

point it coincides with the ancient Appian way ; which may be traced to the walls of Rome by means of the sepulchres on each side of it, and ran very nearly in a straight line. Between the fourth and fifth miles, the Claudian aqueduct makes by its fine ruins, which are sometimes two arches high, a very noble appearance : its course from the fourth mile onwards towards Rome, is followed by the aqueduct of the *aqua felice*, a work of pope Sixtus Vth, and its materials were used in the construction of the modern work. About five miles from Rome are extensive ruins of an ancient village called Roma Vecchia, and a mile farther onward a number of arches still standing near the road; mark the line of a branch aqueduct, which probably supplied the village just mentioned with water. There are also between the third and seventh milestones, several well preserved sepulchres, and one small brick temple with pilasters of the Corinthian order, which is itself probably nothing more than a sepulchral monument. At the eleventh mile, the road ascends the hill on which Albano lies ; two lofty sepulchres attract attention here, and show by their ruins that they must have been among the most stately works of this sort in ancient times. On arriving at Albano, I found an English acquaintance, whom I had appointed to meet, waiting for me ; so, after a hasty breakfast, we provided ourselves with a guide and donkeys, and set out upon our day's excursion. We went from Albano towards a convent of the Capuchins, ascending the hill, and soon after came to the obscure ruins of an ampitheatre built by Domitian, a very short distance beyond which are the banks of the lake. The lake of Albano is a complete crater in form, as it is in origin ; oval, about two and a half miles long, with very high and steeply sloping shores. On one side is Castel Gandolfo, a small village seen from Rome and from far beyond it ; just opposite to the village lies a convent named Pozzuola,—besides these there are no buildings or settlements upon the bank of the lake. Our route for the next day was to be towards Castel Gandolfo : to-day we took the road towards the convent, and towards the highest summit of the Alban mountain, which rises from behind it and looks down upon the lake. We coasted the lake for about two miles, keeping it full in view all the time. It lay perfectly tranquil and dark under a cloudy sky, with not a boat on its surface ; and its trees, except some evergreen oaks and a few that were just breaking into leaf, still wore the garb of winter. Altogether it is beautiful but sad and solitary ;—as a proof of the solitude, we met a young wolf along the shore to which our guide's dog gave chase. Just at the convent above mentioned, are some arches cut under the soft volcanic rock, with a round hole in the wall above them, which is the supposed place of a prison. The rocks here are cut

for about a quarter of a mile perpendicularly, and seem to mark the place of an ancient city. At all events, this spot and its vicinity must be the site of Alba Longa, the far famed mother of Rome, which lay in ruins before Rome owned even the campagna. This will be evident to one who has seen the spot, and remembers the descriptions of Alba Longa given in the classics. "It occupied," says Dionysius, (vol. i. p. 53, ed. Sylburg.) "the space between the mountain and the lake, which in some sort served as walls for the city and rendered it difficult to be taken." "It was built," says Livy, (Lib. i. 3,) "under the Alban mountain, and from being extended in length, received the name of *Alba Longa*." If, as I suppose, it lay not very distant from the steep shore of the lake, along a ridge now covered in part with brush-wood and rising just above the road, its situation would correspond with these descriptions. Its territory, after Rome was founded, seems to have embraced the side of the high hill on which Albano and Castel Gandolfo lie, together with the plain as far as within five or six miles of Rome: it was destroyed, as you well remember, by the third king of Rome, and never again rose into importance.

Soon after passing the convent mentioned above, we left the lake, and took a winding road leading gently up the side of the Alban mount, or as it is now called, Monte Cavo. After perhaps two miles of ascent, we came to Rocca di Papa, a most filthy village of laborers and coal-men, belonging to the Colonna family of Rome; where one house is on top of another, and which is nearly in the clouds. The sky, which for almost a month had been continually clear, now assumed for the first time a threatening appearance; a few drops of rain were shed, and the vapor began to collect around the mountain and seemed about to spoil our day. Ascending from Rocca di Papa, you soon come to a wide square plain called *il campo d' Annibale*, probably because an army may have been stationed here to oppose Hannibal, when he advanced among the hills as far as Tusculum, and, not making the desired progress, retired to Gabii in the plain. Directly above Rocca di Papa, is a high rock cut perpendicularly, where stood a tower in the middle ages, and which seems to have been in very early times the fortress called Arx Albana. Hannibal's plain is considered by geologists to have been the crater of a volcano; though my unpractised eye could trace few marks of such an origin, compared with those which several other spots among these hills exhibit. The path, after ascending a short distance, strikes the celebrated triumphal road by which the consuls ascended to the temple of Jupiter Latialis, upon the summit of the mountain, in order to keep the Latin holidays and to make vows after being chosen; and by which those who were denied the honor of a triumph at the capital might ascend

and celebrate a less honorable one, for themselves. This road is exposed for about half a mile : and differs little from others of which I shall have occasion to speak. Its width is about eight feet, and the very distinct marks of carriage wheels, by which it is worn, are about half as wide, so that very little room was allowed for passing. On a number of these stones are the letters N. V. interpreted to be *Numinis Via*, the Deity's road. The top of the mountain was the common sanctuary of all who bore the Latin name. Here forty-seven cities united in celebrating the Latin holidays, which instituted first according to Dionysius (Vol. I. p. 250.) by the last king of Rome, were kept ever afterwards, until long after the christian era. Of the temple dedicated to Jupiter, no trace remains except a few stones : its site is occupied by a convent of Passionists, whose garden seems to have been raised several feet above the former level, upon the ruins of the ancient building.

The summit of the Alban mount is 2940 French or about 3130 English feet above the sea. Let me attempt from this elevation to give you a view of the Roman plain, for no other situation is so central or so commanding ; and I shall be gratified if I can convey to you that vivid idea of the features of the country which is best obtained by viewing it from a point like this—a point not too high to confound the distinct objects, and yet high enough to afford a wide survey.

The Roman plain, or Campagna, extends along the coast from Civita Vecchia to Terracina, about one hundred miles. The greatest breadth is in the middle and northern parts, and may be stated at from thirty-five to forty. The mountains which enclose it on all sides, are not connected together, but divide themselves into several groups. First and nearest the coast, is the mountain of Tolfa, next that of Viterbo over which the road to Florence passes. Eastward of this is the isolated Mount Oreste, the Soracte of the ancients, a long narrow ridge of no great height, but visible far and wide in almost every direction. On the other side of this hill lies the valley of the Tiber : then succeed the Sabine mountains, a part of the Apennine chain, which enclose the plain as far as Palestrina, and over which the Teverone breaks at Tivoli. Between Palestrina and Cori, there is a break in the mountain wall of four or five miles ; the highest ridge of hills retires towards the east, and a branch of the Liri, a stream which empties into the bay of Gæta about sixty miles from Naples, here takes its rise. Then come the mountains of Cori, a spur from the principal chain of the Apennines, and enclose the plain as far as Terracina, where it is terminated by their approach to the sea. The whole coast is clear of high hills except one about ten miles north-

ward of Terracina, where the isolated promontory of Circe, or Mount St. Felice, rises directly out of the Pontine marshes. The Alban mountains stand quite alone, and have as little connection with the others in origin as in situation. Of the mountains which thus enclose the plain, those of Tolfa and Viterbo are in part volcanic and in part calcareous; all the rest are calcareous. The hills in the plain itself are very numerous and run with no apparent regularity in every direction: they are all of volcanic origin, with the exception of the chain of Janiculum just across the Tiber from the city, which consists of sandstone. The Alban hills are entirely composed of volcanic substances, and mostly of the hardest lava. A distinctly marked and nearly circular wall, from the sides of which a number of hills arise in the plain, forms the main body of this group, and enclosed, say the geologists, the crater of the original volcano. When this became extinct, and an elevated plain was left within, a new force of subterranean fire brought up Monte Cavo and the adjoining eminences, the still higher crater of which geologists profess to find in Hannibal's plain above mentioned. Whatever may be thought of this theory, there is, I think, every reason to believe that several craters may be recognised in this cluster of hills. The Alban lake and that of Nemi are without doubt such; water has here taken the place of fire, as it has in very many other instances in volcanic countries. Four other craters may be traced among these hills and a number in the Campagna.

The view from the top of Monte Cavo takes in a great part of the plain and its border of mountains. West of you, the coast from Ostia towards Antium and onward may be traced. Thus you have the scene of the latter half of the *Æneid* directly under your eyes, for Paterno, a few miles from Ostia, marks the site of the ancient Laurentium, and Pratica that of Lavinium; both, I think, were in sight. Northward are the Alban lake, the hill of Tusculum, the plain with its boundary of mountains, its river and city. On the east the distant prospect is cut off by summits nearly as high as Monte Cavo itself; they are covered with wood, and were some time since the hiding place of robbers. In this direction, and near a hollow where the Latin way passed across the rim of the ancient crater, stood the castle of Algidum, the most important position in the wars between the Romans and the *Æqui*. The mountain bearing the name of Algidus it is perhaps impossible to ascertain: that name seems to have been applied to the range which rises just above the site of the castle, not to any single peak. On the south the view was obscured, when I saw it, for the greater part of the time. It takes in, I believe, Monte Circe, the coast to Terraccia, and the marshes. I have also seen this same

Monte Circe when distant about sixty miles, from the volcanic peak of the island of Ischia near Naples, and with it the whole coast as far as the gulf of Salerno to the South. The length of this line of sea coast thus traced from two points, cannot be less than two hundred miles, including the windings of the bays of Terracina, Gaëta and Naples.

The view described is fine as well as extensive; not so striking, however, as some from the sides of this group of hills, where the smaller eminences which encircle the main one, and are many of them crowned with villages or ruined towers, appear to great advantage. We enjoyed at the expense of losing the general view, the pleasure of seeing the parts of this extensive landscape in succession through the clouds below us: they were threatening and dark for some time, but at length broke, showing through their openings, hills glittering in the sun, and leaving behind them, as they passed away, the plain and the bright sea. The center of the Alban mountains was once filled with villas; but at present Rocca di Papa is the only settlement, and the whole tract is singularly lonely. The sides toward the plain are covered with villages, and their chief production is still the Alban wine, which ranked in classic times among the choicest wines of Italy.

This is in many respects the most interesting spot in the neighborhood of Rome, and therefore you will pardon me for having said so much respecting it. The inhabitants of this mountain were the first founders of the city; its summit was the sacred place where even in the times of its highest power Rome kept up the memory of her early days. It arose from the earth by fire before history began; and though itself a change in the works of God, it is when compared with the works of man at least, unchangeable. It has seen Alba Longa and Rome, both pagan and papal, arise in turn. The last has built upon it a christian chapel in token of triumph over paganism; and, we trust, a triumph of pure christian faith will yet be celebrated here—a triumph in which nature also will join, being redeemed from the sickness and the waste which bad government has entailed upon the Campagna.

A road two or three miles long led us down the southern side of the mountain to Nemi, a small village lying on the brink of the deep basin which encloses the lake of that name, a beautiful little piece of water, one mile and a quarter in diameter. The lake and the town both derive their name from a grove of Diana, (*nemus Dianæ Aricinæ*,) which existed here. This Diana was a cruel goddess; her priest, says Strabo,* was a runaway slave, who fought a public duel for the office and received it if victorious.

* Lib. 5. Cap. 3. Sec. 12.

To this custom, a bas relief, found about thirty years since in the neighborhood of the lake, alludes, which represents a man standing with uplifted sword over the body of another, in the presence of several women. In early times, the victims in the temple of this grave were human beings. A little stream empties into the lake at Nemi, and turns a mill. This is a far more useful employment than that to which it was devoted by the ancients, who held it sacred to the nymph Egeria, and pretended that she was turned into it. The lake is noted also for being a spot chosen by the Emperor Tiberius for his guilty pleasures. He built here a ship containing a kind of floating garden; the ship sunk to the bottom, and may still be seen, it is said, when the lake is low. Two or three years since, a large piece of it was brought ashore, and afforded snuff boxes and canes enough to supply all Europe. There is no natural outlet for the waters of this lake, but an artificial one has carried them into the valley of Aricia, from the earliest historical times. We passed along the edge of this beautiful little basin to Genzano, a modern town belonging to the Cesarini family of Rome, and two miles distant from Nemi. Here we struck the post road from Naples, which conducts along the heights through a pretty avenue of trees, to the modern Aricia and to Albano. We preferred, however, taking a cart path which follows the course of the old Appian way, and descends to the valley. Most of the stones have been removed to be broken up for the repairs of the modern post road; here and there, however, they have preserved their old place, and among the rest, some of the side stones which bound the others and formed the border of a foot-path, may be discovered. Arrived in the valley, you have before your eyes one of the most solid remains of ancient masonry any where to be seen. I refer to the substruction or viaduct by which the Appian way crosses from one hill side to the other, just along the edge of the vale of Aricia, and thus avoids a considerable change of level. This substruction is about one hundred feet in length, and on one side thirty-three in height: on the other the rapid rise of the ground renders the height far less. The stones of which it is composed are about six feet long, and the width increases very little towards the foundation. The valley just mentioned, across the head of which it passes, is one of the most fertile and verdant spots in the neighborhood of Rome: it is surrounded by a kind of rim of land, and has every appearance of being a drained lake.

I shall have frequent occasion to mention ancient roads before I close this letter; perhaps, therefore, it may not be amiss before I leave the Via Appia, the most celebrated and among the earliest of them all, to say a few words concerning their nature and external appearance. I have seen quite a number of them, some as perfect as if made yesterday, and others almost impassable or scarcely to

to be traced. Others still which existed in ancient times, mark their course only by a mournful row of ruined sepulchres, which the custom of the Romans constructed along the road sides. In width, those which I have seen vary. The Appian way and several others, seem to have been from thirteen to fifteen feet wide; the Triumphal, and several discovered of late years at Tusculum, scarcely exceed eight feet, and these appear to be the extremes, if we except one bypath of four feet still existing within a short distance of Rome. The stones, wherever I have noticed them, have been of one kind, basaltic, being mostly quarried in the neighborhood of the Alban mountain. Other sorts were of course used wherever they were nearest at hand; but that the basaltic stones were found very durable is proved by the marks of wheels still to be seen in many places. These stones are of no regular form, smooth in surface and evidently made so before they were laid. Being bound on the sides, and resting upon a deep foundation of baked stone, rubbish and broken rock, they were among the most solid of Roman works, and are one of the best exhibitions of that practical spirit and that laborious energy, by which they cemented their possessions into one empire. Wherever the paved roads are found in their original state, they are still sufficiently smooth for the ancient carriages; indeed I was surprised to find them so much so. The Triumphal road notwithstanding it had been long exposed to the weather and to the rain, previous to its being buried in the earth, was, when disinterred in such an entire state and so smooth, that modern carriages might pass over it without much shaking. The expense of roads constructed like these of the Romans, could not be borne by any nation of Europe. The Appian way continued to be used from the four hundred and forty-second year of Rome until after the time of Justinian, a period of more than eight hundred years; and Procopius, who wrote under that emperor, speaks with admiration of its perfect state and the labor with which it was built.

Adjoining these remains of the Appian way, are the ruins of ancient Aricia, a very old Latin city. Its fortress was on the hill where the modern town of this name stands; the old town lay just on the border of the valley, and apparently in a very unprotected situation. The ruins are inconsiderable: those of principal moment form the walls of a modern farm house, and consist of great stones put together without mortar. From their situation and form, they are supposed to have belonged to a very ancient temple, perhaps to that of the bloody Diana, to whom the borders of the lake were sacred. After ascending the hill, you come again to the post-road and see just at the gate of Albano the most curious sepulchre

existing in the vicinity of Rome, and called without any reason the monument of the Horatii. In form it is a square, composed of large hewn stones, surmounted by fine truncated cones ; of which the middle one is the largest and has beneath it a hole for the ashes. It is in part destroyed, but its form may be distinctly traced, and the society of Roman antiquaries having resolved to save it from destruction, are now putting it into complete repair. This is considered by many to belong to an age prior to that of the Romans, and to show marks of Etruscan taste. The only reason for this opinion that I have ever met with, is derived from its similarity to the monument of Porsena, King of Clusium and head of the Etruscan confederacy, whom you will remember as the friend and ally of the last Roman king. This, as described by Pliny the natural historian, who borrows the account from Varro, was a square of three hundred feet, containing a labyrinth and supporting five pyramids seventy-five feet wide at the base and one hundred and fifty high. On top of these was a brazen circle, in form like a cap, from which bells were hung by cords, and gave forth a sound whenever there was the least wind. This circle supported in turn four pyramids one hundred feet high, and these again five others whose height Varro was ashamed to mention. The Etruscan fables however reported, that these upper pyramids had the height of all the parts below them taken together. Such is a nearly literal translation from Pliny's work which is now lying before me. It is highly probable that Varro never saw this wonderful structure, and that he drew his notice of it from some unauthentic source, long after it had been destroyed. The striking resemblance however, between the monument at Albano and the lower part of Porsena's tomb, renders the former a very apt comment upon the words of the naturalist. Its shape is no sufficient proof of great antiquity. The builder may have followed some more ancient model, just as modern times are fond of copying the Greeks in their ornamental architecture.

We arrived after sunset at Albano after an excursion of fourteen or sixteen miles among the hills ; and rising early the next morning pursued our way on foot to Castel Gandolfo, Marino, Grotta Ferrata, Tusculum and Frascati. The antiquities of Albano itself deserve a short notice. The town dates from the fourth or fifth century ; the ground on which it lies was once occupied by the villas of Clodius and Pompey, as appears by comparing the face of the country with Cicero's oration for Milo. These villas were afterwards thrown into a large one belonging to the emperors, of which Domitian was particularly fond ; and I have already mentioned his amphitheatre, as lying upon the hill just beyond the town. Within the town itself a long extent of walls may be traced,

which may have belonged to a pretorian camp, and which contain within their precinct a round modernized building. There are here also very large reservoirs of water, and near them a dark building called a prison, and constructed out of large blocks of soft volcanic stone. But what interested me most was a collection of earthen vessels owned by a private person, and said to have been lately found in a tomb upon the borders of the Alban lake. From their rudeness and singularity of form, these appear to be of extreme antiquity. When discovered, they were contained in five or six very large urns or pots : the whole collection amounts to several hundred pieces. They are mostly, as far as I could judge, imitations of domestic utensils : amongst other things I noticed several kinds of lamps and drinking vessels, copies of the ancient leather bottles, and of a caldron placed upon a furnace. Certain vessels containing bones were found, of which some were in shape like a house without windows, but with a door : its top was peaked like a roof, and there was something that resembled the ends of rafters projecting from it. The only other article that I will mention, bore a close resemblance to the sepulchre which I have described just above. If these are indeed what they profess to be, I have seen nothing of the kind half so curious or so well deserving to be visited. The road which we took yesterday brought us to the side of the lake ; and we here turned in the opposite direction towards Castle Gandolfo, situated at the end of a beautiful avenue of trees, a small village of modern origin and owned by the Popes. It was a holiday ; the boys were playing at a game of wooden balls, and the whole art consisted in rolling them farthest. The beauty of the day and the delicious prospects which the lake and hills presented at every step, rendered this a truly delightful walk. Just before reaching the village we descended the steep bank (which must be here three hundred feet high) to the shores of the lake in order to see the famous drain or canal for letting out its waters. As I have said before, the lake has no natural outlet. During the seige of Veii it arose very suddenly according to tradition, and the Romans were told that their attempts to take their enemy's town would be in vain, until they had by an artificial channel discharged the superfluous waters. This account of the origin of this tunnel, you no doubt remember having read in the fifth book of Livy. It is about a mile in length, and is carried through a hill composed of very hard lava, which rises four hundred feet, I should think, above the level of the conduit. It seems to have been constructed in the following manner. Large pits were sunk from the summit of the hill to the level of the lake ; these pits which may still be traced, served for drawing up the materials from the bottom, and the workmen placed in two adjoining ones picked through the rock towards each

other until they met. Some architects praise the skill with which this passage was made, and say that it displays a knowledge of the art of leveling; but it may be questioned whether any more profound science was necessary than that which is taught almost by nature itself, and reduced to practice by a good eye and the use of the simplest inventions. At the mouth, this work affords a channel to the water of about three or four feet in width. The sides are faced with hewn stone apparently for ornament, and but for a short distance: within they seemed very irregular. This drain performs its office after two thousand two hundred years as perfectly as at first, and carries the superfluous water of the lake by two small rills into the Tiber.

It is worthy of remark, that a number of similar works exist to the north of Rome, in the volcanic region, where lakes occupying the places of craters are not unfrequent, and where several hollows that once were lakes have thus been laid bare. These appear to be mainly works of the Etruscans, and the tradition recorded by Livy, points to a soothsayer of that nation as the original cause of the Alban conduit.

There is one work of this kind, which on account of its size, history and interest at the present time I cannot pass over in silence. This is the tunnel cut by the emperor Claudius for lowering the water of the lake Fucinus, situated midway between the two seas, on the parallel of Rome, in the Neapolitan province of Abruzzo Ultra. This lake is about ten miles in length, it lies under the highest peak of the Apennines, and is nearly four miles distant from the valley of the Liris, being separated by a hill three or four hundred feet in height. The Neapolitan government is now removing the rubbish which has for ages choked it up, and have finished a third part of the task, at the expense of thirty thousand dollars. Professor M. of Rome having lately visited it upon a botanical excursion, gives me the following particulars. The pits or wells are dug contiguous to each other, as in the case of the Alban canal; some of them, besides the perpendicular hole, have an oblique one which is furnished with rude steps cut in the rock. In order to be sure of meeting each other, the workmen at the bottom of the adjoining wells picked the rock not in the straight line of communication but at such an angle as to be sure of crossing each other's tracks; hence there are sometimes very sharp and almost rectangular turns in the path of the tunnel. The level is exceedingly neglected, so that large pools of water have formed in the holes of the rock, and the workmen now engaged in clearing the passage have been obliged to plank the bottom, in order that carts may pass in and out. This work is large enough for two carts to pass: it is in some places so high that three men may stand in it on

one another's heads, while elsewhere the head of one man will almost touch the top. It begins a short distance from the lake, is carried first through the solid rock, and then passes through earth. The pits where the digging was through earth, were entirely filled with dirt, which sunk through when the tunnel was cleared. It is here that the excavation was begun by the government of Naples : my informant passed through about a mile and a half of its extent, and examined minutely the rest. From this description, it appears, that however great may have been the skill of earlier times, the Romans soon after the christian era carried on this work in a very bungling manner. The variations in the height of the passage must arise from ignorance of leveling, and seem to show, that the workmen followed their own guesses, rather than any scientific principle.

We learn from the twelfth book of the annals of Tacitus, from Suetonius in his life of Claudius, and from several other Latin authors, that this work was first conceived by Julius Cæsar, but not undertaken on account of its magnitude ; that Claudius employed thirty thousand men for eleven years upon it, in the hope of deriving profit from the lands to be drained ; that he made a seafight upon the lake when the tunnel was supposed to be ready for receiving the waters ; that owing to a defect in the construction the water would not pass off until the channel had been made lower ; and that the tunnel went into use, and was cleared or repaired by several succeeding princes. You will excuse this episode I trust, for though this work has been visited and described before (as by Sir W. Hamilton for instance) no one until very lately, has had the opportunity of exploring its recesses, and of seeing it as it was at the period of its first construction.

Instead of reascending the hill from the Alban canal, we continued our course for some time through the vineyards and gardens along the shore. A wall or quay which seems to have confined the waters of the lake, or perhaps served as a foundation for houses, may here be traced for a considerable distance. The only other object deserving of notice is a grotto cut into the rock, called Diana's bath. It was perhaps the summer retreat of some wealthy Roman ; and the situation was chosen on account of the view which is here afforded : from the recess of the grotto you look across the lake upon the conical summit of the Alban mountain. This is but one instance out of many which I have noticed, where a beautiful prospect determined the Romans in the choice of a place for their villas. A walk of two or three miles led up the hill, through a fine wood filled with wild flowers and through a narrow valley to Marino. Just before reaching this village, which like almost all others in this part of Italy lies upon a hill, you pass

a copious fountain gushing from the rock. This is remarkable as being the "*Caput aquæ Ferentinæ*," where in early times the Latin cities including Rome, held their Diet in the vicinity of a sacred grove; and where according to Livy (I. 51-3) Tarquin the proud procured the destruction of one of his rivals. The fountain is still called *Capo d'Acqua*. Marino contains nothing worthy of notice excepting one or two pictures, one of which by Guido, I thought very good. From this place we went to *Grotta Serrata*, an abbey belonging, I believe, to Greek ecclesiastics of the Roman church. There was a great annual fair here to-day, and we met crowds returning from it, who saluted us as we passed and wished us a "*buon viaggio*." I had previously visited this spot. On ordinary occasions, it is resorted to on account of several exceedingly fine fresco-paintings by Domenichino, in praise of the vigor and expressiveness of which, too much can hardly be said. The two finest are a visit of the emperor Otho to the Abbey, and the healing of a demoniac boy. As you will find descriptions of these pictures in books which you may have at hand, I will not go into details respecting them. On the present occasion, we spent a long time among the groups of peasants assembled at the fair; we took our meal of bread and cheese and Alban wine in the midst of them, and had ample opportunity to observe the varieties of their costume. Most of the women and girls were in their best attire. I noticed one in particular who was very pretty and richly dressed, and was attended by her father, a farmer of substance from *Rocca Priora*. The principal articles sold here were horses, asses, and bacon. I observed besides other things some birdlime for sale, which I dare say was prepared after the old receipt which we have preserved by Pliny. I saw no appearance of intemperance in this great concourse, that I now remember; nor any of those games and shows and jugglers tricks which abound at the fairs of France, England, and Germany, where I have been present. The people seemed to have convened for sober purposes, and were content to buy and sell and withdraw quietly. *Grotta Ferrata* has been selected without sufficient reason, as the site of Cicero's Tusculan villa.

We ascended the hill of *Tusculum*, two miles distant from this place, on the southern side, where it is steep and bare, and looks towards the Alban mountain. The other side which commands a fine view of the Roman plain, is covered with modern villas and laid out into walks. Excavations made within twenty-two years, have brought to light a number of ancient monuments upon the summit of this hill; and a road has been laid bare for a mile along the ridge, bordered as usual with innumerable sepulchres, and leading between stones that must have been the foundations of arches, to-

wards the gate of the city. Within six months another road has been discovered, which left the first mentioned at right angles and descended into the plain. Both of these, especially the latter, are in good preservation. The walls of the city have been found, and are freed from earth for some distance. Within are two theatres in part disinterred and lying side by side, and adjoining them a portico erected, as is supposed, to protect the audience in case of rain. The citadel beyond is a rock of moderate height, about six hundred feet in diameter and capable of being made a strong fortress. Without the walls at some distance from the city and on the south side of the hill, are the ruins of a very extensive villa called Cicero's; at any rate the situation is worthy of him or any other man who had a taste for natural beauty. The other ruins on this hill I must omit to notice. The view towards the Campagna is one of the best which can be taken. Directly north and distant about five miles is the lake of Gabii, near which the town of that name stood, and a small pond at a less distance and nearly in the same direction, is called the lake Regillus. I had visited the hill of Tusculum before, and might say much more about it; but you will find it minutely described in common books, and with it the stiff Italian villas in the neighborhood of Frascati. This is a dirty village half way down the hill, where we passed a most uncomfortable night at a miserable tavern. In the morning early, we took horses and rode to Palestrina, fourteen miles distant. For half that distance, our path followed the sides of the Alban group of mountains. We passed near Monte Porzio, and directly by the gates of Monte Competri. Shortly after leaving this latter village Rocca Priora came in view on the right, situated on a very high hill, and Colonna on the left. The last is the ancient Labicum, and lies on a low eminence rising out of the plain. Traces of an ancient road were often to be discovered, and soon after descending into the plain we followed one, which for several miles is in an excellent state, and still forms a part of the carriage way from Rome to Palestrina.

This town, which I shall call by its ancient name Præneste, lies on a declivity of the Apennines about twenty-three miles from Rome. It was a very ancient and powerful Latin city. In the quarrels between the parties of Marius and Sylla, it espoused the cause of the former, and the younger Marius sustained a siege here in the 672d year of Rome. It surrendered at length to Sylla's general; the whole male population was destroyed and the city plundered. Sylla again rebuilt it and made it a Roman colony. It seems to have flourished since that time, not however without some reverses of fortune, for it was again completely destroyed about the year 1300, in the quarrels between pope Boniface VIII, and the Colonna family. As you may judge from this

sketch, it has changed its situation : the ancient town seems to have been higher up the hill than the modern. It was renowned for a temple and an oracle of Fortune. From the vestiges of this building still to be seen where the modern town stands, it must have occupied a most commanding situation above several terraces or platforms, between which there was a communication by steps. These terraces, several pillars, altars, etc. still exist, but the most remarkable thing preserved is an ancient *mosaic* of great size, which was part of the pavement of a chamber pertaining to the temple. Antiquaries are not agreed upon the subject of this composition : I have seen eight or ten conjectures of writers relating to it. All pronounce it Egyptian in origin, and several suppose it to refer to sacred rites performed upon the Nile. After all it may have been a fancy piece of the artist. The foreground is chiefly occupied with a number of boats, islands, and temples ; behind are a variety of real or imaginary animals with Greek names. This is one of the largest and oldest mosaics in existence.

By far more interesting, however, to me were the Cyclopean walls of the ancient town. This word is used to denote huge irregular stones placed together without mortar ; and includes all the more or less rude styles of fortification, that were successively adopted before stones regularly hewn and squared were introduced. Greece affords a number of examples of the Cyclopean style, and others may be seen in the hill country of ancient Latium at Cori, Ferentino, and elsewhere. The walls of Præneste seem to belong to a very rude and early age : they are in part destroyed, but may be traced in the present town, and lead in an unbroken line towards the ancient citadel at the top of the hill. They seldom rise more than four or five feet above the present level of the soil, and must have been reduced in height when the ancient city was destroyed. The stones are shapeless masses of limestone torn from the rocks in the neighborhood. They are quite large, but by no means of the size which I have elsewhere noticed, at Fiesole for instance, near Florence, where a fine ancient wall of squared stone may be traced for half a mile which contains some blocks fifteen feet long and four thick. These walls of Præneste were interesting to me as being perhaps the oldest work of man that I had ever seen. A walk of half a mile conducted us to the citadel, over what was probably the site of the ancient town. The hill is separated by a deep valley from the mountains behind, and the top commands an extensive view both towards the Roman plain, and towards the Sabine mountain, Anagni, and Terracina. The site of the citadel is occupied by a cluster of houses, a church, and some ruins of the middle ages. Palestrina itself is a squalid miserable place. Only one of the streets affords a convenient passage for carriages.

They rise one above another on the hill side, and stairs form the communication between them. The fine healthy looking children here, annoyed us more than those of any other place with their begging.

After such a dinner as a fast day in a country town of Italy affords, we rode to Tivoli which lies on a hill of the same chain, and is sixteen miles distant from Palestrina by the road which we took. We followed an ancient road which must have been the *Via Prænestina*. For a mile or two it was in good repair, and passed through a well cultivated country—the most so that I have seen within the borders of the Campagna. But it then became bad and at length was scarcely passable. My horse stumbled at every moment over the pavement, which was lying displaced but still unbroken, and seemed to be rarely ventured upon by travelers. After following this road for some miles, we left it at a remarkable spot where a hill has been cut through in order to preserve the level, and taking a bypath along a little brook, passed by a cluster of houses called Passerano, and said to be built upon the site of *Scaptia*. No part of the Campagna that I have seen was so desolate as this. We saw neither habitation of man, nor beast in the fields. The land was in a great measure unenclosed and untilled, and seemed to be “enjoying its sabbaths.”

Tivoli, the ancient Tibur, is visited by every traveler who goes to Rome, and has been frequently described; I shall, therefore, do nothing more than give you a very brief sketch of it. It lies on the point of a very high hill, having on one side a deep valley into which the Anio falls, and on the other looking out upon the plain. In itself the town has no attractions aside from its romantic situation. A part of the stream is diverted into the town from its natural course, and after being used for manufacturing purposes, falls by several pretty cascades into the valley above mentioned. The main body of the stream however, falls at the head of the valley through two artificial channels. The beauty of one of these was destroyed by a freshet in 1826. A path made by the French leads to the foot of these falls where the grottos in the rock, behind which the stream is seen descending, the singular deposits of limestone which the stream has made, a natural bridge below you, and the valley closing to the eye as you look down it, are all objects of singular interest. Above you is the temple of *Vesta*, a beautiful little circular building, which you may have often seen delineated. A walk of several miles, through olive groves around this valley takes you by a number of ruined villas; and on reascending towards the town itself, you observe that the high point of the hill is occupied by a very extensive ruin, which is fixed on with justice as pertaining to the villa of *Macænas*. From this pile near to the

clouds he contemplated the smoke and bustle of Rome.* A magnificent villa in the neighborhood of these ruins built by the cardinal D'Este, is fast approaching to decay.

In the morning I bade adieu to "*Tibur superbum*" for the second time, and walked to Adrian's villa which lies about two miles from the town, and not very far from the road to Rome. A second examination of these ruins confirmed my opinion formed after the first, that however vast the original design was, it wanted unity of parts, and seemed rather to have proceeded from caprice than a regard for the true principles of taste. The number of buildings whose brick walls are here to be seen, is astonishingly great; one continued line of them extends for about a mile, and there are others at some distance from these first. I will leave you to seek a more particular description of them from others. The only writer of ancient times who has spoken particularly of Adrian's villa, is Spartian, who says in his life of the emperor, that he copied here all the most remarkable buildings he had seen in his extensive travels, amongst others the Lyceum, Academy, and Pœcile of Athens, and the Canopus of Egypt: that he made a vale of Tempe in miniature, and infernal regions. Adrian seems to have united great vanity and a rage for building. Both are displayed in the castle of St. Angelo at Rome, which he built for his own mausoleum. I have somewhere read, that he had an architect killed who presumed to criticise one of his plans for a temple; if so, I suppose he was left to follow his own whim in erecting his villas, and was not disturbed by unwelcome advice. A great number of statues have been dug up around these buildings and many more once existed. It appears that even in the sixteenth century, the marble statues were used to make lime of, just as the blocks of the colosseum were employed by Michael Angelo himself, to build one of the modern Roman palaces. In the neighborhood of the villa, Sir W. Hamilton found a number of legs, arms, feet, and trunks apparently amassed to be calcined in some previous age.

Where the road from Tivoli crosses the Anio, nineteen miles from Rome, a fine cylindrical tomb of the Plautian family is still standing. They were originally from Tibur, and, as the inscription on the tomb records, filled several places of dignity and trust, under the first emperors. Soon after, the road passes between the ancient and modern quarries of Travertino or Tiburtine limestone, which is a very hard and watery deposit. Of this stone many of the ancient works, and nearly all the more splendid churches and palaces of modern Rome, are built. Two miles beyond, the waters of the Lago Sulfureo, (Sulphur Lake,) cross the road by a modern drain, and diffuse their odor for a great distance round.

* Horace, Od. III. 29.

This lake has been rapidly diminishing for centuries, and is now not more than five hundred feet in diameter. Others that seem once to have existed in the neighborhood, have disappeared. You will find a description of it and of its floating islands formed by scum entangling the seeds of plants, in Sir Humphry Davy's *Consolations in Travel*. Two other small lakes lie a mile nearer Rome. One of them called the Lago dei Sartari is by the road side, and is worthy of remark for the depositions of limestone around its sides, which assume in most instances the shape of hollow tubes, and form with great rapidity. From this spot to where the road again crosses by the Ponte Mammolo to the southern side of the river, a distance of about ten miles, there is scarcely a dwelling house, with the exception of three taverns. Instead of returning to Rome, which is five miles westward, from the bridge, I will request you to follow me three miles in a northwest direction along the meadows of the Anio towards another bridge, which keeps the place and nearly the name of the ancient Pons Lomentanus. Ascending a small hill on the northern side of the stream and on the right of the road, and looking down the current, you observe a chain of low hills, to which that on which you are standing may be said to pertain. These are with great probability considered to be the "Sacred Mount," to which the plebian party of Rome twice retired, and which Livy, Dionysius and others place just across the Anio, three miles from the city. I know not when I have had stronger impressions of desolation and solitude, than when I stood upon this hill. I was alone and no other human being was in sight. Scarce a house can be seen in the neighborhood; a modern aqueduct alone could be traced at a distance, and just below me were two ancient sepulchres. Flocks feeding in the meadow half a mile off, and guarded by two shepherd's dogs, were the only living thing discernible. I shouted to render the loneliness less painful, and one of the dogs hearing me barked and advanced a few steps towards the hill, as though fearing invasion or unused to have his solitude broken by the voice of man.

Two miles northwest from this bridge, the Anio unites with the Tiber, and is crossed by the Ponte Salaro near the confluence. A hill observed on the left before you cross the bridge and near the junction of the rivers, is the site of Antemnæ, a very ancient town, the nearest neighbor of Rome, and destroyed in very early times in order to remove a rival and to swell the numbers of the city by its inhabitants, which were transplanted thither. The road, which crosses this bridge and runs along the valley of the Tiber to the east of that stream, follows the course of the Via Salaria, the oldest Roman road of which mention is made. Two miles from the bridge and five from the city, a chain of hills of moderate height are the probable site of Fidenæ. These hills are composed

of a soft volcanic stone, and abound in excavations which may however be of very modern origin. I observed upon them no vestiges of ancient times, except fragments of stone and pottery. Several of them might have been made almost impregnable in ancient warfare. The nature of the ground affords a very clear comment on Livy's descriptions of the engagements which took place in its vicinity. Fidenæ was destroyed in the three hundred and twenty-ninth year after the building of Rome, but was subsequently colonized and made a free town. An event occurred here in the reign of Tiberius which shows that more than the three thousand destroyed by Samson, can perish in the ruins of a building. A certain Atilius built a temporary amphitheatre in order to exhibit gladiatorial games. A vast crowd was collected, as the town was but five miles from the metropolis, and the structure fell, having been loosely put together. Fifty thousand persons, according to Tacitus, were maimed or bruised, and Suetonius puts the number of those who perished at twenty thousand.*

I will close this long letter with an account of an excursion to the supposed seat of Veii, which after a long siege was taken and destroyed by Camillus, in the three hundred and fifty-ninth year of Rome. The spot lies between eleven and twelve miles from the walls of Rome, and one mile east of the road to Florence. The nature of the place is as follows. Two little streams running in very deep beds at an acute angle with each other, have a precipitous rock at their junction, on which stands a castellated place with a few houses and a church, named Isola Farnese. This is supposed to be the citadel of Veii, which Camillus entered by a mine. The two sides which are formed by the beds of the brooks, are inaccessible: the third can be approached with carriages but is itself steep and capable of being defended. This island forms a triangle or circular segment of nearly half a mile in diameter. The united stream after flowing half a mile, is joined by another which has also worn for itself a deep channel within rocky walls. The country between these streams is rather high, and now covered principally with wood. This is the site of Veii itself, which has thus a natural wall on three sides; I am not aware that its boundary on the fourth side can be traced. In going from Isola Farnese to this spot, we took a winding road which led by a pretty waterfall and by a mill, where they were grinding Indian corn, which is used in Italy, as with us for human food. The miller was a youth from Lucca, with a countenance fit for a statuary to model after, and quite noble in his demeanor and way of speaking. From the mill we walked through wheat-fields and brush-wood, by the foundations of an ancient

* Tac. Hist. 12, 62. Sueton vit. Tiberii, 40.

house to a place called the Ponte Sodo. The brook here runs under the rocks for several hundred feet, in a straight channel, twenty feet wide and ten high. This was undoubtedly a work of art constructed by the ancient Etruscan inhabitants, and I could find no motive for it, except defense or access to the water in a protected place. In its neighborhood, I observed the old walls peeping above the ground, and the foundations of a bridge which was probably crossed by a Roman road of later times. Here are also five or six bare rocks cut all over with holes; some of which are arched and others peaked at the top, while all, I believe, contain the usual round place for the urn which received the ashes of the dead. One of these holes was large, and appeared to have been a regular tomb with doors: the rest were not unlike in form or size to the small niches of some Roman tombs, in which one or two vessels of earthen ware containing bones are found. But these were in the open air and within the supposed walls of the city, so that I knew not what to make of them. The Etruscans buried their dead mostly in vaults under ground and with much splendor, but this looked like a burial place of savages.

There has heretofore been much discussion concerning the site of Veii. Some without any reason fixed it at Civita Castellana, a town thirty-six miles from Rome on the road to Perugia. But Dionysius expressly declares that it was one hundred stadia, or about twelve miles from Rome, and an ancient road-book places it at just that distance and in this neighborhood. Excavations made a few years since concur with these authorities, having brought to light within these very precincts a number of monuments, among which are several inscriptions relating to Veii, then a Roman colony. The colony bore the name of the old town upon the foundations of which it was built. All the inscriptions are of the times of the emperors. The ruins of the Etruscan city must have lain undisturbed more than four centuries, for Propertius, in the days of Augustus speaks of it as being still desolate. His words are, "Now within the walls the shepherd's horn gives forth a slow sound, and fields are measured over your bones."* Just within these same walls, we were met by two shepherds. One had just been dismissed by his master, and was wandering away, the picture of wretchedness, with all his goods in his wallet. His wages, he told us, were but two dollars a month. Isola Farnese contains about eighty inhabitants, who leave it on the approach of the sickly season, and go elsewhere in search of employment. What a striking contrast to ancient Veii, a city according to Dionysius as large as Athens, and for centuries the most formidable foe of Rome.

* Eleg. 4, 11, 29.

The uncultivated and neglected state of the Roman plain is in good keeping with the sepulchres along the roads, the ruins in the city, and the broken spirit of the people. The land for the most part, is to appearance barren ; but, though by no means so rich as the plains of North Italy and of Campania, would, I am persuaded, repay the laborer for his toil, if he had an interest in the ground and could stand the diseases of summer. At present most of the land is owned by religious corporations and by great families. This circumstance gives rise to a class of men, called "*mercanti di campagna*," who pay a certain sum for the lands, and cultivate them chiefly by means of superintendents and day laborers, while they themselves reside at Rome and the other towns. There are thirty or forty of these men at Rome, who rank in wealth and consequence, I am told, between the bankers and the other merchants, and are some of them quite rich. They visit their farms during the sickly months, but are careful not to sleep outside of the city walls.

I have heard it said, that four times as much land is devoted to pasturage and the raising of horses, which are exported in great numbers to Tuscany and Naples, as in the neighboring regions. This arises partly from the nature of the soil, and partly from the climate. The sheep feed on the plains during the winter, and in the summer are driven among the Apennines. Where grain is produced, it is usually sown, if I am correctly informed, three years in succession, and then the land lies fallow two or sometimes three years. Sheep are pastured on it the second year, and devour what grows of itself. Human labor is scarce. Hence great numbers come from the Roman provinces on the Adriatic, in October, and work in the plain or in the city until April or May. The people of the Abruzzi come down to gather the harvests on the plain, and return to gather their own. In winter the wages of a laboring man, a gardener, for example, are about twenty cents a day, as stated to me ; in summer they rise sometimes to fifty.

This is one of those countries which "*devour the men thereof*," and "*the burning ague which consumeth the eyes and causeth sorrow of spirit is appointed over it*." In ancient times the number of towns in the plain proves that it must have been healthy, and a passage of Strabo implies* that it was so, with the exception of the coast. The Romans in their early days purposely destroyed the neighboring cities in order to have no rival near them. Afterwards the greater part of the plain was covered with villas and gardens, while supplies of corn were drawn from richer countries. Since then, in becoming a prey to summer fevers, it has had the portion

* Lib. 5, cap. 3, § 5.

of other depopulated lands. I have never seen, for instance, such marks of an unhealthy climate as at Pæstum on the gulf of Salerno, a city which was once full of men : the eastern side of Calabria too where of old large and powerful Greek cities stood, is now exceedingly unhealthy, and many examples of a like kind might be brought forward. Whatever be the cause of the malaria, it seems to follow a certain degree of decay and desolation, and to be slow in attacking compact settlements. The thickly peopled parts of Rome are little exposed to it. Some proof of this may be found in the fact that the population has increased about ten thousand since the peace in Europe, according to a statement published last year. It appears to me that the moral causes of decay here are far more to be dreaded than this. If the malaria comes, as many think, from the deposition of undisturbed vegetable matter, a few generations of men by turning up the soil might arrest its progress ; but what remedy can be found for a sunken and enslaved people ? What other than that, which the government would rather see a desert around it, than resort to—pure christianity with its invariable attendants, knowledge and freedom. When that remedy shall be used, I believe that it will restore the land to whatever appearance of fertility it once wore, and take away its diseases by giving it into the hands of a regenerated nation.

ART. III.—REVIEW OF THE WORKS OF THE REV. ROBERT HALL.*

The Works of the Rev. Robert Hall, A. M. Minister of Broadmead Chapel, Bristol, England. First complete edition ; with a brief Memoir of the Author. In two volumes. G. & C. & R. Carvill : New-York.

THERE are some names to which Providence assigns a sort of earthly immortality ; men who perhaps do not bring their powers into more vigorous exercise than many others, but who have powers to use, which others have not ;—men who leave the impress of their minds upon the character of an age, who are emphatically the master spirits of their generation, and whose thoughts scarcely assume a tangible form, before they are darting, as if by a magical influence, all over the world. Men of this description it must be confessed are few. So we shall find it *has been*, if we look back upon the history of past ages ; and so no doubt it *will be* in respect to our own age. Nevertheless, we hesitate not to assign to this

* At the moment when this article was passing through the press, the melancholy intelligence arrived in this country, that Robert Hall is no more. It is now too late for us to modify our remarks with reference to this fact ; they will be read, we trust, with increased interest, under the impressions created by the loss of such a man.

highest rank of names, the venerable name of ROBERT HALL. For though his published works in which he will speak to posterity are far more limited than could be wished, yet what he *has* written is of such a character, and his personal influence, independent of his writings, will have been so great, that his life, we have no doubt, will, in many respects, have been one of the most important, which the history of the present age will record.

Until very recently, the works of Robert Hall have existed only in the form of miscellaneous pamphlets, some of which it has been difficult to obtain even in England; and most of which, with the exception of some of his occasional sermons, have been comparatively little known in this country. Some of these have indeed had an extensive circulation on this side the water, especially his sermons on infidelity, which Dr. Dwight, (and we know not where to look for higher authority,) pronounced to be inferior to no sermons in the language. We had, therefore, much pleasure in hearing that a young clergyman, a countryman of ours, who was every way qualified for the undertaking, was engaged in preparing an edition of the entire works of Mr. Hall, to be accompanied with a short memoir of his life. The work has at length appeared, and is, in every respect, highly creditable to the editor, while we are persuaded it will prove one of the most acceptable gifts, which the reading public of this country has for a long time received. While we congratulate the mother country that she has given such productions to the world, we may, perhaps, congratulate our own, that she has been the first to collect and arrange these productions, in such a form as to secure for them a general circulation.

It is our design in this article, not so much to attempt a particular notice of the various publications of Mr. Hall, which are given us in these volumes, as to present an outline of his life and character, and especially of the character of his writings; and to exhibit in several points of view the influence which he is probably destined to exert on the interests of the present age. If, in noticing his life and character, we should seem to have gathered materials from any other source than the judicious memoir with which the editor has supplied us, or to speak with more confidence than might be expected, of a foreigner who has never been among us, we may be allowed to say, that we shall state nothing which has not been authenticated to us either by Mr. Hall's particular friends, or by our own personal observation.

ROBERT HALL is the son of a distinguished Baptist minister in England, of the same name, who is known in this country chiefly as having been the author of a small, but very useful book, entitled, "*Help to Zion's travelers.*" The son was born at Arnsby, August, 1764. In very early youth, he gave indications of the

rarest intellectual endowments, being able, as his father states, at the age of nine, fully to comprehend some of the profoundest reasoning on moral subjects, which the language affords—that contained in the most elaborate treatises of Jonathan Edwards. In 1773, he became a member of an academy at Northampton, under the instruction of the late distinguished Dr. John Ryland. Thence he was removed to the institution at Bristol, designed for the education of young men for the ministry, under the care of Dr. Caleb Evans, a man of fine powers and enlarged views, who, at that time, officiated as pastor of the congregation of which Mr. Hall now has the charge. At the age of seventeen, he entered King's college, Aberdeen, where he continued nearly four years, in constant attendance on the lectures of Dr. George Campbell, author of the celebrated work on miracles, etc. During this period he formed an intimacy with Mr. (now Sir James) Macintosh, in many respects a kindred spirit to himself, which is known to have been continued, and which in later years has given rise to a letter from the pen of Sir James, which is judiciously incorporated in the memoir of Mr. Hall, and which one cannot read without feeling perhaps an equal admiration for the intellect and the heart of its author.

About the time of his leaving Aberdeen, Mr. Hall took the degree of Master of Arts, and became associated with Dr. Evans at Bristol, not only in the ministry, but in the instruction of the theological academy. Here he immediately acquired a popularity, which would have been too great to be enduring, had it not been founded on the rarest intellectual endowments of the age. Though the Dissenters in England, at that period, had far less influence than they enjoy at present, and though the denomination to which Mr. Hall belonged, was by no means the most popular even among *them*, yet such was the admiration of his powers, that the most distinguished divines and even dignitaries of the Established church, were often among his hearers. But in the midst of his almost unprecedented popularity, an event occurred, which, for a season, awakened painful apprehensions lest this bright star, which had risen with so much radiance, and had begun to diffuse its light in both hemispheres, might, so far as the present state of existence is concerned, be prematurely struck out of the intellectual firmament. This was nothing less than a temporary derangement of intellect. In consequence of this, he was taken home to his friends in Leicestershire, and for some time it was strongly apprehended, that he was the subject of an incurable mental alienation. Gradually, however, this most appalling malady yielded to a course of judicious treatment; and his great mind having regained its accustomed balance, came back to its former habit of sober, well ordered and majestic operations. There has since been a recurrence of

this affecting visitation, though for several of the last years, it is understood, there has been no indication of it; and from the advanced period which he now has reached, it is reasonable to hope, that this noble intellect will never suffer another eclipse, or cease to operate for the benefit of the world, until it shall blaze forth with brighter splendor on a nobler field of existence.

Possibly it may be with some a matter of curiosity to know, what were the operations of this mighty mind, at the melancholy season to which we have adverted. It is said, that during no period of his life, did he ever evince, in a higher degree, his native intellectual superiority. He was great, incomparably great, even in the wildest ravings of the maniac. His reasonings, it is said, always of course, proceeding upon false premises, and often conducting to most ridiculous conclusions, were nevertheless logically accurate, and sometimes in the highest style of forensic eloquence. Many of the sentiments and expressions which he then uttered, were treasured up by his friends, and some of them must certainly be regarded as among the most brilliant effusions of the human mind. We have seen nothing from his pen, and heard nothing from his lips, which discovered more of the fire of genius, than some remarks which have been reported to us by his friends, as having fallen from him during the continuance of this calamitous visitation.

Soon after this season of mental alienation had gone by, Mr. Hall accepted an invitation to become pastor of the Baptist church at Cambridge, which had been rendered vacant by the death of the celebrated Robert Robinson. This singularly gifted man, (Mr. Robinson,) had been one of the most eloquent and popular preachers in England, and withal, for a time, decidedly evangelical; but he gradually departed from the simplicity of the gospel, till he landed in the grossest errors of Socinianism, and probably in downright infidelity. Mr. Hall, who knew him well, declared that he had never seen a man who possessed more engaging powers either in preaching or in conversation. No one was better fitted than Mr. Hall to succeed such a man as Robinson; for while he had far more intellectual force than his predecessor ever possessed, and thus was able more than to meet the demands which even Robert Robinson's hearers might naturally make, for noble exhibitions of intellect, he was prepared by the same means successfully to resist the influence of previous false ministrations, and even on that ground, to raise the standard of evangelical truth and piety.

During Mr. Hall's residence at Cambridge, he occupied a field, than which, perhaps, no other could have been found better adapted to his gigantic powers. Living in the immediate neighborhood of the university, he was constantly brought in contact with the most

distinguished scholars of the age ; and many of them who had no great sympathy in the interests of the Dissenters, regularly availed themselves of his ministrations. While there was here every thing to waken the energy of his genius, and to impel his mind to its noblest efforts, his influence was powerfully felt by many other minds, which were destined to an active and public career, and in some instances to be the light of their generation. He continued here till about the year 1804, during which time he published several pamphlets, the most important of which were his *Apology for the freedom of the press*, and his sermon on modern Infidelity. At the period above mentioned, his mind sustained another shock similar to that which we have already described, in consequence of which his labors were again interrupted, and he was finally separated from a charge, which he had served for several years with the highest ability and acceptance.

On this calamitous occasion, the apprehensions of Mr. Hall's friends and of the public were renewed, that his intellect would never emerge from the dark cloud which had again settled over it. But by the blessing of God accompanying the most judicious medical treatment, he was shortly restored to complete mental sanity, insomuch that he was enabled to resume his ministerial labors, and to prosecute them with his usual vigor and success. He was finally prevailed upon to accept the pastoral charge of the Baptist church at Leicester, and so efficient and popular was his ministry, that it became necessary repeatedly to enlarge the chapel in which he preached.

The removal of Mr. Hall from Leicester to his last place of residence, took place in 1825. The church at Broadmead, Bristol, having been left destitute by the death of the venerable Dr. Ryland, invited Mr. Hall to become his successor. So strong was the mutual attachment between him and the congregation which he had served for nearly twenty years, and which had risen under his ministry from a state of great depression to the highest respectability, that it was not without much reluctance and a severe conflict of feeling, that he finally resolved on a removal. After a deliberation of several months, he came to the conclusion, that the indications of Providence were in favor of the proposed change ; and accordingly resigned his pastoral charge amidst the prayers and tears of an admiring and devoted congregation.

From the period last mentioned, he has labored constantly, with the exception of occasional interruptions from ill health, in the church which his intimate and venerable friend, Dr. Ryland, had served for many years, and in which, if we mistake not, Mr. Hall preached his first sermon. His congregation, though not large, is composed chiefly of the most respectable class ; and probably

the only reason why it is not larger, is, that his chapel is only of ordinary size, and his health and voice are such as would not admit of his preaching in a larger place. It is hardly necessary to say, that his chapel is the resort of almost every intelligent stranger who visits Bristol; and instances are not unfrequent of persons from remote parts of the kingdom, and from other countries, who happen to be in that part of England, making it a matter of calculation to pass the sabbath at Bristol, for the sake of the gratification and benefit of hearing from him even a single sermon.

It has been the lot of this great man from early childhood, to be afflicted by a bodily disease (*tic dolooureux*) which has not only often occasioned an interruption of his labors, but has rendered his life emphatically a life of pain. His sufferings are sometimes so severe that, if it were not for a very free use of laudanum, it would seem that he must speedily sink under them; but by frequently resorting to this remedy, he gains a temporary and partial relief from his pains, while his constitution has been so trained to the habit of using it, that there is scarcely any quantity which he cannot take with perfect impunity. It has often and justly been the occasion of regret, that he has published so little; but the true reason is unquestionably to be found in the fact that he has always been subject to this constitutional disease; and the only wonder, after all, really is that, with scarcely any relief from severe pain except that which is gained by artificial means, he should have produced so much; especially that he should have held on in so constant and brilliant a course of labor in the pulpit. It is truly wonderful, that his constitution should not long ere this, have yielded to the power of this dreadful disease; but it has not, until at very recent period, seemed to affect in the least, his general health and vigor. No doubt it has been a salutary discipline to his heart, and perhaps the very discipline which, in connection with the painful visitation to which we have already adverted, was best calculated to keep down that pride of intellect, to which such a mind must be in some respects peculiarly exposed. During the last four months, as we have learned, Mr. Hall's public labors have been much interrupted by the increased power of his disease; and though he was very lately able to appear before his people once on the sabbath, yet considering the strength which his disease has already gained in connection with the fact that he has reached the age of sixty-six, we can scarcely anticipate any thing but the melancholy intelligence, at no distant period, that his brilliant course is finished.

There is in most minds a curiosity to know something of the personal appearance of those, whose character or works have been the subject of their admiration. The engraving prefixed to the works of Mr. Hall conveys perhaps as accurate an idea of his

face, as can be gained from any thing short of the original ; but there is, after all, something in the man himself, which we do not expect ever to see copied, and which we do not believe can be copied in all its perfection. In certain states of feeling, his eye exhibits not merely the fire, but if the expression may be allowed, the very lightning of genius. You could not meet him as a stranger in the market place, without perceiving at a glance that he is no common specimen of man ; and if he should turn his eye upon you when his mind is coming forth, as it sometimes does, in the majesty and storm of burning thought, you would scarcely find it difficult to believe, that he was intended to link man to some higher order of beings. In his person he is of about the medium height, with a large frame and perhaps a little inclined to corpulency. In his very gait there is a majesty, which tells of the greatness of his intellect.

Perhaps the character of Mr. Hall's mind cannot be better described in a single word than by saying, that it is perfectly balanced, and combines all the various powers in their highest perfection. If he possessed any one faculty in the same exuberance in which he possesses them all, and in respect to the others were not in the least distinguished, it would be enough to render him an extraordinary man. If he reasons, it is always with strict philosophical accuracy ; with a keen, searching glance into the very mysteries of his subject, leaving the reader or hearer often at a loss whether most to admire the light, or the strength, or the depth of his argument ; and generally leaving his antagonist to the alternative of quiet submission, or of preparing for a still more mortifying defeat. If he comes into the region of taste or imagination, here also he is equally at home. With the same apparent ease that his mind can frame a powerful argument, it will pour forth images of exquisite beauty and tenderness, as well as of overwhelming majesty and strength. In short, there is no part of the intellectual world in which he does not seem to breathe freely, as if it were his peculiar element. He is at home as far below the surface of things, as far down in the depths of metaphysical abstraction, as perhaps any mind ever penetrates. He is at home amidst the common sense realities of life, judging of men and things with as much accuracy, as if the whole business of his life had been to watch and analyze the operations of the human heart. He is at home in the field of fancy, in worlds of his own creation ; and he can find in the mountain and the valley, in the ocean and the sky, in the storm and the lightning, in every thing in the kingdom of nature and providence, a field where his imagination may expatiate with unlimited power. His acquisitions correspond, in a good degree, to his original endowments. It were not to be expected, indeed it were not possible, that he could have gone extensively into every de-

partment of science and learning, in which his great and versatile mind would have enabled him to become preeminent; we suppose his favorite studies to have been the science of morals and theology, though he has shown himself deeply versed in political economy, and the various branches of polite literature. His knowledge of the ancient and modern classics is extensive and exact; and if we mistake not, they make part of his every-day reading even at this advanced period of life. We remember to have been equally delighted and astonished at hearing him converse for an hour upon the philosophy of language, in a style which discovered a degree of reflection and research from which one might have supposed, that it was not only a favorite topic, but that he had made it the study of his life.

It were naturally to be expected, that an intellect of such uncommon strength should be associated with a corresponding strength of feeling. This is true in respect to Mr. Hall; and it is no doubt to the power of his feelings, that the world is indebted for some of the most brilliant and useful of his efforts. A man of a dull temperament, let his intellect be what it might, could never produce those fine strains of soul-stirring eloquence, in which it is the privilege of Mr. Hall to pour out even his common thoughts. But with all the strength of his feelings, his heart is full of kindness and affection. In all his intercourse he is noble and generous. His attachments are strong and enduring. He is open and honest in respect to every thing and every body. As no one can approach him without a deep feeling of respect, so no one can be admitted to the hospitalities of his fireside and the privilege of his friendship, without finding, that the sentiment of respect is fast ripening into that of cordial and affectionate attachment.

The piety of this great man is at once rational and evangelical; equally removed from the false fervors of enthusiasm and the cold reveries of a philosophical religion. His views of religious truth are well known to correspond generally with those of Dr. Dwight, Dr. Lathrop, and the other divines of the same school in this country; and it were not possible that his religious character, built upon such views, should be otherwise than rational and consistent. In his conversation, his preaching, his devotional exercises, he shows not only that he is familiar with every part of divine truth, but that its influence deeply pervades his heart; and that he covets no higher honor, and no more delightful employment than to sit at the feet of Jesus and commune with him. In his prayers, there is the same originality and strength of conception that mark every thing which comes either from his lips or his pen; but there is apparently the simple breathing out of the soul in fervent and holy desires, and an entire forgetfulness of every thing that does not per-

tain to the duty in which he is engaged. While his manner in prayer is deeply earnest and impressively solemn, his tones are simple and natural, and as far removed as can be from that artificial and whining manner, which is intended to indicate deep feeling, but which to a reflecting person always gives some reason to doubt whether there is any feeling at all.

It must be obvious to any one who is even moderately conversant with Mr. Hall's writings, that he has no great partiality for theological technicalities; indeed we know of no writer who has done more than he by example at least, to discountenance them, and to restore to the science of theology the plain language of the bible and common sense. It admits not of question, that many a great mind has been held in bondage to error by the mere influence of words and phrases; and perhaps it were not rash to assert that there are yet some modes of expression, that the church is not prepared to part with because they seem to her venerable on account of their age, which would not bear to be brought to the simple standard of scripture and common sense. We are far from wishing to see any change on this subject, which should unnecessarily shock the feelings of any of our fellow christians; nor would we desire any change unless in cases where the popular phraseology is manifestly adapted to obscure the truth or lead to positive error. But we regard it as one of the happy effects of the controversy which for the last twenty years has been going on between the friends and the enemies of evangelical truth, that it has served greatly to reduce the technical vocabulary of theological science. We are satisfied, that the religion of Christ is not only most attractive, but most powerful, when it is presented in its native simplicity. It feels every thing foreign that is laid upon it, as a dead weight. Let it be entirely unembarrassed by human inventions, and it will soon take wing and fly through the world.

But if we mistake not, there is as much reason for reform in the technology of experimental religion, as of theological science. We had hoped that Foster's enlightened and admirable view of this subject, would not have been lost upon the religious community of this country; but if we are not entirely deceived, there never was a time when the use of quaint and offensive phraseology in the department of christian experience, was more common than it is at present. There is a set of phrases which seem by many persons to be regarded as inseparable from revivals of religion, which are neither warranted by scripture nor consistent with good taste; and the tendency of which is to keep many in the higher classes from ever examining the subject at all. We happened within a week to be traveling in a stage coach with a gentleman of apparently deep and earnest piety, who actually seemed to

have so identified these phrases with all his ideas of experimental religion, that he could not speak of the subject at all in any other language. Instead of saying, for instance, that a certain church which seemed to be on the eve of a revival, was deeply humbled before God, he said there were *great breakings down* in it; and instead, of saying, that there was a spirit of earnest prayer, he remarked irreverently as we thought, that there was prayer *which took right hold of the Lord's arm*. Indeed we have to object to much of this phraseology, which has come in upon us of late years, not merely that it is offensive to good taste, but that it is positively irreverent; and we earnestly hope, that ministers and all intelligent christians will set their faces steadfastly against it, and will endeavor to realize themselves, and so far as they can, make others realize, that earnest piety and common sense have never declared war against each other. We have never heard any person converse on the subject of religion, who was more entirely unexceptionable in this respect than Mr. Hall; and if there were the same tendency to this evil in England which there is in this country; we should set down his complete exemption from it as one of the positive evidences of his greatness.

In private conversation, Mr. Hall is the admiration and delight of every circle in which he mingles. He converses a great deal, partly because when his mind is excited, it is not easy for him to remain silent, and partly because there is so much in his conversation to interest and edify, that almost every one who is in his company regards it as a privilege to listen rather than talk, and acts accordingly. We have been struck with the fact, that let the conversation turn on whatever subject it may, even though it be a subject on which he might be expected to be least at home, he is equally ready, equally eloquent. He possesses beyond any other man we have known, the faculty of bringing facts and principles which are stored up in his mind, instantly to bear upon any given subject; throwing around it at once, to the mind of the hearer, the clear, strong light in which it appears to his own mind. This must be owing partly to the original power which he possesses, of discerning almost intuitively, even the most remote relations of things to each other, and partly to the perfect order with which all his intellectual acquisitions are arranged. In the midst of an involved discussion, he will bring to his aid insulated facts from the various departments of knowledge, without the least hesitation or effort; just as we have known some men who had a remarkable attachment to order, able to enter their library, and lay their hand on any book at pleasure in the dark. But notwithstanding he converses so much, there is not the semblance of an obtrusive or ostentatious manner; nothing that seems to say, that he is thinking of his own

superiority : on the contrary, he seems to forget, and sometimes makes those around him forget, the greatness of the man, in the greatness which he throws around his subject. He has a strong passion for irony, which often comes out in his conversation, and sometimes with prodigious effect. He is, however, by no means severe in the common estimate which he forms of character ;—so far from it, that he treats characters for the most part with unusual lenity, and sometimes seems delighted with exhibitions of intellect from others, which would have appeared to every one else far beneath the most common-place efforts of his own mind. It must be attributed to his disposition to judge charitably of the productions of other minds, that he has written recommendatory prefaces to several books which, though certainly adapted to be useful, do not, in point of intellectual merit, rise far above a respectable mediocrity.

As a preacher, none, we presume, will accuse us of extravagance, when we say, that Mr. Hall is the admiration of the age ; and not of his own country only, but of the whole christian world. It must be confessed, that his manner in the pulpit will not bear to be tried by any rhetorical rules ; you might as well think to chain the wind or the lightning, as to cramp such a spirit as his in any of its operations. In the commencement of his discourse, you would see nothing promising but his majestic countenance and piercing eye ; and it would not be strange if a few of the first sentences should excite but little expectation. His voice, at best, is small, and his articulation not the most distinct, or his gesture the most graceful ; but before he has proceeded far, you observe the kindling of his spirit in his tones, his countenance, his gesture, his attitude, in every thing that goes to constitute his manner. You find yourself carried along by him as irresistibly as if you had been taken up in a whirlwind ; and you have neither the power nor the disposition to stop to analyze the impression which he makes upon you, until you are free from the almost magical power of his eloquence. We cannot call him graceful or elegant ; we cannot say that he has a commanding voice, or that its inflections are greatly varied ; but we can say, that the *tout ensemble* of his manner, in our estimation at least, is wonderfully impressive. There is something in it which communes directly with the understanding, and the heart, and the conscience, and the whole man. We ought in justice to add, however, that some other persons who have heard him have judged differently ; and that our estimate in this respect, is formed from having heard him preach a single sermon, and that confessedly one of the most eloquent as to matter and manner, which those who had stately listened to his preaching for years, remembered to have heard.

Mr. Hall never writes his discourses, though it is impossible that he should preach as he does, without having previously digested his subject and arranged his thoughts. He regards the writing of sermons as an intolerable drudgery, and even those which he has published were written after they were delivered. But he has the habit of speaking with such perfect correctness, that it were impossible for his discourses to be improved by being committed to paper. Our limits do not permit us here to discuss the subject of the comparative advantages of reading sermons, and the mode adopted by Mr. Hall and most of the English dissenters. But we think it a point deserving of much more consideration, especially in our theological seminaries, than it seems yet to have received. We would not by any means, wish to see our students of theology or young clergymen, becoming converts to the doctrine that writing is mere useless drudgery; but we do think it their imperative duty to train themselves to a habit of extemporaneous speaking, and to exercise this "gift that is in them," at least once every week. We do not indeed believe, that in ordinary cases, so great an amount of instruction is likely to be communicated in any other way, as by committing one's thoughts carefully to paper; but that a greater degree of excitement will usually be the effect of an earnest and impassioned discourse, in which the language at least is extemporaneous, admits of no question. Whatever else may be said in a comparison of English and American preachers, (we of course refer only to English Dissenters,) there is no room for doubt that the former are far more ready, and usually far more happy, in their extemporaneous efforts than we are. This difference is owing wholly to a difference of education; and it is dishonorable to our country, that it should exist, especially where there are such ample opportunities for our young men to make themselves, in this respect, every thing which they ought to be.

As to the character of Mr. Hall's sermons, unhappily the world are left to judge, from a very few, though incomparably brilliant specimens. We do not mean, that these are not fair specimens of his preaching, or that he might not probably have given to the world many more which would have done equal honor to his intellect and his heart; but we mean, that they are, to say the least, among the noblest specimens of this species of composition which the language contains. His sermon on Infidelity may perhaps be considered his master piece. We know of nothing within the same compass, in which there is such an array of artillery played off upon the infidel, and with such prodigious effect as this sermon. The sermon on the death of the Princess Charlotte, is, perhaps, on the whole scarcely inferior to it, though of an entirely different character. It has all the tenderness, beauty, and sublimity, with which such a mind

would naturally be inspired by such an occasion. All his published sermons are distinguished by a simple and easy arrangement, though sometimes there is not the formality of announcing a plan; by an extent and majesty of thought which is peculiar to himself; by a completeness and force of argument which is fitted to compel conviction; and by a deep sense of the impressive greatness of every thing that is connected with God's holy truth. As they are occasional sermons, it were not to be expected, that they should contain such discriminating and pungent exhibitions of the doctrines and duties of the gospel, as might reasonably be looked for in the ordinary ministrations of the sabbath; and if these sermons are really in that respect a specimen of Mr. Hall's common preaching, we should not hesitate, with all its consummate excellence, to pronounce it faulty. We have reason, however, to believe, that he deals honestly and faithfully with the consciences of men; and that while all his preaching is strictly evangelical, much of it is characterized by that directness and point, which is fitted above any thing else, to procure for the truth a permanent lodgment in the heart. We have very recently heard, that as he considers himself drawing towards the close of his ministry, his preaching is less argumentative and more devotional; and, that in all his public services, he seems more than ever to breathe a spirit, which is nearly ripe for the communion of the world of glory.

It is manifest, that Mr. Hall's style of preaching has a peculiar adaptation to the higher classes of society; and, perhaps, it is not too much to say, that there principally we are to look for its effects. It is easy to conceive of an audience upon which such sermons as most of those he has published, would be entirely thrown away; and it is equally easy to conceive of one, upon which they would exert the highest moral influence, that could be expected from any human compositions. The latter, to a considerable extent, we suppose to have been the audience to which they were actually addressed. If our object were to furnish an ignorant, unthinking mind, with an antidote against the poison of infidelity, there are many tracts which we should select for the purpose sooner than Mr. Hall's celebrated sermon on that subject; but if the individual concerned, had been trained to a habit of reflection, and was capable of comprehending a strong and logical course of argument, we know of nothing in the language from which we should more confidently expect a happy result.

If we mistake not, there is a disposition extensively prevalent, to bring up, or bring down, the preaching of every body to some one particular standard; and that standard is the one which each individual happens to have framed for himself. There is no doubt,

that some modes of preaching are better on the whole than others; but provided only that the pure gospel be exhibited, we do not think there is any great cause either for complaint or alarm, if each preacher adopts the particular mode of exhibiting truth which happens to suit him best; and in all ordinary cases a person will succeed best in his own way, the way that is most natural to him. And it is manifest that God has had some purpose in respect to this matter, and a wise purpose too; and that he demands our co-operation for its accomplishment. He has given to mankind a great variety of intellectual and moral constitution; and while some minds may be successfully approached in one way, others, if we come at them at all, must be approached in a very different manner. Now in the distribution of gifts among ministers, there is a variety, corresponding to the diversity of native character, to be found among those whom they are called upon to address. When, therefore, we hear a preacher, whose mode of exhibiting truth does not precisely accord with our own taste, if his argument is a little more refined, or his language a little more figurative, than we should ourselves have chosen, while we endeavor to turn it to as good account as we can, as it respects our own edification, we take the comfort of thinking, that there are other minds of a different texture from our own, into which it will enter with more light and power. And here, as it seems to us, is a reason why every preacher should consider it a point of duty to find out if he can, (for that is not always an easy matter,) what his own manner is, and study to perfect himself in that, rather than attempt to borrow one which was never designed for him. If God had intended, that a preacher should have any other manner than that which naturally belongs to him, no doubt it would have been among his original endowments; hence it is manifest that in endeavoring to assume any other, he is acting contrary to the design of Providence. We of course would not carry this doctrine so far as to discourage attempts to remedy natural imperfections: we only mean that each individual may be expected to do most and best, when his faculties operate in the most easy and natural way, and when he acts in consistency not only with the several but the particular laws of his intellectual and moral constitution. In our own country, we have had several distinguished pulpit orators; and we sincerely regret, that there are so many copies, or we should speak more accurately to say, caricatures of them, scattered through the land. If we were permitted to speak one and only one sentence in the ear of every theological student in this country on the subject both of writing and speaking, it should be, "Cast away all models, and yield yourself up to the simple dictate of nature."

But it may be asked whether no advantage is to be derived by

the student of theology, from hearing and reading fine specimens of pulpit eloquence? We answer, very great advantage, provided they are not adopted as models, and suffered to give an artificial direction to the operation of one's own faculties. Probably the whole benefit may be derived from them by attending to them without any thought of imitation, and getting one's mind so far imbued with the spirit by which the effort was prompted, as is necessary to form a proper estimate of it. There is in every person a natural love of proportion and symmetry. Every one loves to see things in keeping; and if they are not so, it is easy for any person to see that there is something wrong, though it may not always be easy to discover where the fault lies. The moment a preacher assumes another man's peculiarities, there is a feeling on the part of his hearers, in many instances perhaps scarcely noticed by themselves, that there is something discordant, something out of proportion; and where the imitator happens to be a man of small powers, and attempts to incorporate into his manner the peculiarities of a giant, to every person of common sense he actually appears small in the same proportion that he attempts to appear great.

While therefore, in contemplating the character of Mr. Hall as a preacher, we see much of the wisdom and goodness of Providence, in raising up such a man to speak with so much power and effect to the higher classes of society, and while we regard him as being perhaps as perfect in his own way as any other preacher with whose labors the christian world has been blessed, we are far from proposing him as a model to persons who are constituted with different peculiarities of mind, and to whom God has evidently assigned a very different part in the building of his spiritual temple. We have heard some men speak even of Robert Hall and of other kindred spirits, as accomplishing but little for the church. And why? Because their preaching was not conformed to the standard which they had themselves adopted, because forsooth it was too logical, or too elevated for common minds. But let these persons recollect, as a cure for their weak prejudices, that there are in the world some *uncommon* minds; minds upon which their own addresses, however useful in their place, would be entirely lost; and that in providing some such men as Robert Hall, the Head of the church has shown alike his wisdom and his goodness. Let those from whom such complaints are sometimes heard, be contented to do the utmost good they can in their own way; but let them not conclude that minds of a higher order accomplish no good, because they act in a somewhat different sphere, or because their influence is less concentrated, and therefore less palpable. A common parish minister may be instrumental in the conversion of many souls, while a distinguished professor in a theological seminary may

never be the direct instrument of converting one ; but it would be wrong to infer that the former has been on the whole a more useful minister than the latter, or even that he would ultimately have as many souls as crowns of his joy ; because in training up young men for the ministry, he is training them up for the business of effecting conversions ; and in each of these conversions he may be regarded as having not a direct, but an indirect instrumentality. But even when two ministers are devoted in the same way to the ordinary duties of their office, it is not always right to estimate their comparative usefulness by the number of apparent or real conversions, of which they are *directly* instrumental ; because though the preaching of the one may awaken a great number of sinners, and bring more persons into the church, yet that of the other may exert an influence upon a few minds, which in time will be destined to influence a multitude ; it may be the means of controlling in a measure the secret springs of society, and even guiding the destinies of a nation, and thus may be rendered powerfully subservient to all the just and holy intents of Christ's kingdom. We should think it strange if Dr. Beecher's sermons on intemperance, had been *directly* instrumental in bringing about a revival of religion, or even effecting a single conversion ; but we should not think it strange, if they should be found at last to have exerted a mighty influence in saving this great nation from ruin ; we should not think it strange, if they should procure for their author some of the brightest gems, which will adorn his immortal crown. Let the preaching of Mr. Hall then and of others like him (if there are any such) be judged by a fair and liberal standard ; and let other men of less gifted minds, instead of attempting to imitate them on the one hand, or to detract from them on the other, learn the great practical lesson, of using their own powers for the purpose and in the manner which God intended.

We cannot close our remarks upon Mr. Hall as a writer, without adverting to his polemical productions. Most of these relate to the subject of open communion, and religious liberty ; though some of his miscellaneous reviews, it must be confessed, partake somewhat of a controversial character. The same qualities of mind which appear in all his other writings, characterize these,—viz. copiousness, clearness, strength, and majesty both of thought and diction ; but in addition, there is here often the most keen and lightning-like sarcasm. He always meets his antagonist with boldness, and sometimes handles him with great severity ; and if he occasionally exhibits a burst of indignation, it proceeds from a strong conviction, that he is dealing not merely with ignorance, but with gross moral obliquity. He seems desirous to be courteous towards his opponent wherever he *can* be ; but where he supposes

there is a call for severity, he sometimes deals off his blows with the strength of a giant. We are at a loss where to find any polemical writings in our language, in which the argument is more thoroughly sustained, and the whole subject dispatched with more dignity and effect, than in his tracts on open communion, and his apology for the freedom of the press.

We have already had occasion to remark, that such a man as Robert Hall must be destined to exert a powerful influence on the character of the age. To ascertain the extent of that influence were at present, and perhaps will always be, impossible. Before concluding our remarks, however, we will notice some of the most prominent ways in which he is likely to assist in molding the destinies of his country and of the world.

It cannot be questioned, that Mr. Hall's influence has been, and is destined to be, extensively felt in elevating the standard of preaching. We are aware, that there are those who are not prepared to appreciate his labors in this respect, from the fact that they regard every thing beyond the mere commonplaces and technicalities of theology, as involving a departure from the simplicity that is in Christ; and some there are who tremble almost as if the ark were in danger, when along with the simple truths of the gospel, there happens to be an exhibition of intellectual greatness, and especially of cultivated taste. For ourselves we confess, that we have no sympathy with any prejudices of this kind: we do not care how much taste or eloquence may be exhibited in a discourse, provided only it is made subservient to the great end of preaching, and does not serve to blunt the edge of the sword of the spirit. But whatever our own opinion may happen to be in reference to this subject, it is certain, that there is a large class, (and in the progress of society, it must be expected to be constantly increasing,) who require preaching of an elevated character; who rather than sit down quietly under a ministry which has in it little or nothing intellectual, will choose to stay at home, or perhaps go still more quietly to sleep. It may be said, that this is a wrong taste, and that it ought not to be humored; but without stopping to inquire how far such demands are reasonable, it is obvious that to a degree at least, they must be met, or a considerable number of the class to which we have referred will rarely, if ever, be brought within the influence of the preaching of the gospel. Far be it from us to recommend to a preacher in any circumstances, the least attempt at compromise with the feelings of worldly men, by a partial concealment of the truth; we insist that he shall always preach the simple gospel of Christ; but we are willing that he should do it, if he can, with the eloquence and dignity of Robert Hall; because we well know that there is a class with whom such preaching is more likely per-

haps than any other, to prove the power of God ; and we are quite confident that such a man will find his right place.

Now it seems to us, that Mr. Hall has probably done more towards forming a style of preaching adapted to men of a high order of intellect, than any other man of the age. While there is in his sermons no covering up of evangelical doctrine,—nothing which indicates that timid and miserable policy, which would conciliate the great at the expense of ministerial fidelity, there is an originality, and depth, and grandeur of conception, which cannot fail to chain every admirer of intellectual greatness. While Mr. Hall's personal ministry has been a source of edification and delight to many of the most distinguished of his countrymen, it has no doubt served to form and elevate the taste of many a young preacher, who is now following in his brilliant track, though it must be confessed *haud passibus æquis*. This influence on the English pulpit may be supposed to have been more decisive from the fact, that during a considerable part of his ministry he has resided in the immediate vicinity of one of the great universities of the country, or else has been connected with an institution designed to educate young men for the christian ministry. Even in our own country, his published sermons are probably more read, as fine specimens of that kind of composition, than any other in the language ; and we have no doubt that they are destined to hold the same precedence for a long time to come.

It is impossible to compare the sermons of the present day with those of past ages, without perceiving, that there has been in some respects at least, a manifest improvement. We say in *some* respects ; for in regard to extent of thought, copiousness of scripture illustration, and deep and earnest piety, we shall look in vain for those who have risen higher than some of the English divines of the seventeenth century. The improvement to which we refer relates more particularly to the art of making sermons, and consists in the greater simplicity of method, in the absence to a considerable extent of technical phraseology, and in the combination of those qualities which are fitted to make a more single, and of course, a deeper impression. But we do not suppose, that the church has yet, in this respect, seen her best days. In her onward march towards the millennial glory, as the ministry is to be chiefly instrumental in directing her destinies, and as the preaching of the gospel is the principal means by which the ministry operates, we have a right to expect, that preaching as an art will be better understood, and that the sword of the spirit will be wielded with more skill and effect. While Mr. Hall will have contributed to form one class of preachers, which the exigences not of the present generation only but of posterity will demand, other distinguished men will have ex-

erted an influence in forming a different class ; and thus we have reason to believe that the standard of preaching will, on the whole, constantly rise higher and higher, while there will still be that variety in the manner of exhibiting truth, which is adapted to the various orders and classes of society. It is by no means an improbable supposition, that those who listen to the preaching of the gospel on the morning of the millennial day, will hear the servants of God proclaim their message in a nobler, bolder, holier style of eloquence than uninspired men have yet been able to reach. And may it not even be regarded as an indication, that our lot is cast near that most glorious day of the church, that young men enjoy so many more advantages than formerly for becoming accomplished, able, efficient preachers ; and that the word of truth is actually proclaimed to the men of this generation, probably with more skill and higher effect, than it has been to any generation that has preceded it?

Not less is the influence which Mr. Hall is destined to exert in sustaining the cause of truth against the advocates of error and skepticism. Every one knows, that infidelity with its twin brother Socinianism, has always been fond of claiming a monopoly of the talents and learning of the age. That there has sometimes existed a monstrous union of great talents with great errors and vices, it were in vain to deny ; though the claims which skeptical men have made on this subject are not only without foundation, but ridiculous in the extreme ; for where infidelity can point to a single great name, we hesitate not to say that christianity can produce its scores, if not its hundreds. And who does not know, that a certain sect in our own country which has sprung up within a few years, was wont for a long time to make the same arrogant pretensions ; claiming all the biblical learning, and nearly all the intellectual greatness of the times ; and we confidently believe, that if the whole truth were known, we should see that not a small proportion of those who have gone over to this fatal heresy, were drawn into the snare by the bait that was spread before them, in these unfounded and ridiculous pretensions. Even admitting the alledged fact, that the larger proportion of men of great minds are unfriendly to christianity, or are the advocates of some false form of christianity, it is manifest that this would make nothing against the truth of the gospel ; because the evidences on which the gospel rests its claims, together with the doctrines which it reveals, require nothing more than an ordinary mind to examine and estimate them ; and considering the pride of intellect by which most great minds are distinguished, and the natural tendency of this to blind the eye against the light of God's truth, it may well be questioned whether the opinion of an individual of common intelligence, who has faithfully examined the subject of

christianity with an honest and tractable temper, is not as much to be valued as that of a more gifted mind, with no more than a common exemption from the pride of opinion. But inasmuch as men naturally love darkness rather than light, and are glad to find an apology for the rejection of truth and the admission of error, it is an occasion for gratitude when God is pleased by employing the noblest talents of the age in defense of evangelical christianity, signally to confound those who have the impudence to exhibit it as the creature of weakness or fanaticism. For ourselves, we attach but little importance comparatively to any argument that is drawn merely from human authority; nevertheless, as the abettors of error and skepticism are pleased to make much of it, we are willing to confront them with weapons of their own devising. When they talk of Hume, or Bolingbroke, or Rousseau, or any other of their champions, whether among the living or the dead, we point them to Robert Hall as a man whose intellectual powers are probably not exceeded by those of any other man of the age, and yet one of the firmest defenders of christianity which the world has seen. And we doubt not, that the union of intellectual power and moral excellence which his character presents, may stand in the place of many arguments, with a multitude of youth, to keep them from entering the broad road of open or disguised infidelity. In referring them to such a character as Mr. Hall, we accomplish a double purpose; we not only show them genuine christianity in alliance with one of the noblest intellects, but also as exerting its benign and choicest influences on the heart and life. If it were admitted, that infidelity has sometimes been found associated with an equally vigorous and powerful mind, we have still the advantage in the argument from authority, as it can never be shown in unison with the same high standard of moral excellence.

But Mr. Hall has exerted a still more direct influence in favor of the cause of evangelical truth by his writings, than by his character. His masterly sermon on infidelity, to which we have already more than once alluded, was peculiarly demanded by the exigencies of the period at which it was published; but its influence has been felt ever since on both sides of the Atlantic, and no doubt is destined to be felt with undiminished power, until the monster whose deformities it was designed to expose, shall hide his head in the dark corners of the earth. Perhaps he has published nothing in which he has aimed so heavy or so efficient a blow at Socinianism, as his review of Belsham's life of Lindsey; in which not only the author whom he reviews gets an exemplary chastisement for his gross misrepresentations, and his ridiculous attempts well nigh to canonize a man of only a common mind, but the arrogant claims of the sect to which the biographer belongs (we should ra-

ther say *belonged*, for Mr. Belsham has gone to his account) are exposed with a masterly hand, and in a spirit of keen, though well deserved sarcasm, and of genuine triumph. His tract on the Holy Spirit is more deeply imbued than any thing else we have seen from his pen, with simple gospel truth ; and while it was evidently dictated by a heart distinguished by a rich experience of the power of godliness, it is admirably fitted to aid others in the great work of their sanctification. Each of these several publications, and others of the same general class to which they belong, have exerted, and must continue to exert, a powerful influence, in arresting the progress of error, and in helping forward the great cause of truth and holiness. And while the writings of Mr. Hall are adapted to exert a powerful, direct influence in favor of evangelical religion, they are also fitted, and are no doubt destined, to accomplish much by forming the minds of others for a successful conflict with error, and for an able defense of the authority and truths of the bible.

Until lately, infidelity has concealed itself in this country, at least to a considerable extent, under various and delusive disguises. When exhibited in its true character, it is far less to be dreaded than when thus concealed, because in the one case we contend with an open enemy and always know where to meet him ; in the other we have to encounter an equally bitter foe, under the guise of friendship, and sometimes not the least difficult part of our task is to ferret him out from his lurking places. But whether more or less formidable, every thing at present seems to indicate that all disguise will soon be thrown off, and that open infidelity is the great enemy with which the present generation of Christians in this country will have to contend. In some of our cities there are already depositories of infidel and blasphemous tracts ; there are organized associations which hold their stated meetings for the purpose of strengthening each other in the malignant work of scoffing at the bible ; there are annual celebrations of the birth of a man, whose very name we forbear to mention, because it is only another name not only for blasphemy but for the very loathsomeness of pollution. These certainly are facts of no good omen ; but no christian need be afraid to look them fully in the face ; because they that be for him are a thousand fold more than they that are against him. Nevertheless, facts like these ought to bring every intelligent christian to his post ; and put him upon a course of effort according to his ability to resist this overwhelming tide of skepticism that is coming n upon us. We regard the publication of Mr. Hall's entire works at this time, as peculiarly calculated to subserve the christian interest in this country, with reference to the infidel controversy ; and we would earnestly recommend the publication and circulation of other books and tracts, which are especially adapted to the same

end. We would venture even to suggest to our clergymen generally, whether the exigency of the case does not demand that they should distinctly bring before their hearers, the leading evidences of christianity; and in many instances vindicate it directly against the attacks of infidels. It has been perhaps too common in years past, to take for granted, that the mass of hearers were intelligent believers in the divine authority of the bible, and to feel as if nothing were to be done but to explain and enforce its doctrines. There is reason to believe, that this course has given great advantage to infidels of the present day in diffusing the poison of skepticism; they have availed themselves of the ignorance of multitudes to assail the very foundation of the christian fabric, and have actually seemed to lay it in ruins before their eyes, when if the individuals concerned had been previously well instructed, they would have seen that their rude attack had accomplished nothing. It is certainly too much to take for granted, that the mass of people even at this day, are familiar with the evidences of christianity, or have even so much knowledge of them as to be prepared for an encounter with a wily infidel; and we repeat our conviction, that ministers cannot render a more important service to the cause of truth, than by making their hearers, and especially the young, thoroughly acquainted with the grounds on which the gospel claims to be a divine revelation.

Perhaps after all, the most interesting point of view in which Mr. Hall's character can be viewed, is in his entire freedom from a spirit of sectarianism, and his efforts to unite evangelical christians of various denominations in the bonds of holy affection, and in their exertions to advance a common cause. He is himself, as all our readers are aware, a Baptist; but he dissents from most of his brethren on the subject of strict communion. Indeed he is the pastor both of a Baptist and Independent church, worshiping in the same congregation; and he administers the Lord's Supper to them separately, because many of the Baptists still adhere to close communion. But he does not hesitate to avow, that he has more fellowship of feeling for an Independent or Presbyterian, than for a close communion Baptist; for while he regards the one as wrong only as to a matter of form, he regards the other as wrong in a point which is vitally connected with the interests of the church. His whole intercourse and conduct are in strict accordance with his liberal principles. During his residence at Leicester he formed an intimacy with the Rev. Mr. Robinson, a distinguished clergyman of the established church, whose general views were as liberal as his own. After the death of Mr. Robinson, Mr. H. pronounced an eulogium upon him, which is in his best style of eloquence, and which demonstrates that he is as capable of appreciating intellectual

and moral excellence beyond, as within, the limits of his own sect. Indeed the qualities of his heart, no less than those of his understanding, utterly forbid that he should be exclusive either in his friendships or his intercourse; and the fact is, as might be expected, that the most enlightened and excellent in the various christian denominations are among his friends.

Every one knows, that Mr. Hall is not only opposed in principle and practice to strict communion, but that the energies of his great mind have been drawn out in several tracts on this subject, which may be regarded in respect to the influence they are fitted to exert, as the most important of all his publications. Notwithstanding he has discussed the subject with particular reference to his own denomination, the great principle of free communion which he attempts to settle, and which to our apprehension, he does settle in the most convincing and triumphant manner, applies to several other christian denominations, as well as the close communion Baptists. Though his argument has already had great influence, we believe it is destined to have much greater. In England we learn that the principle of open communion among the Baptists is gradually, though perhaps not very rapidly gaining ground; and we *know* that there are a considerable number of clergymen besides Hall and Foster, and many laymen of the highest respectability, who have cordially embraced it. For our own country we fear we cannot say so much. We know among our Baptist brethren men of fine minds, and on every other subject but this, even to that of ministerial fellowship, as open and generous as we could desire; but at the table of our common Master, where it would seem as if there were most to awaken and cherish a liberal spirit, they still show themselves exclusive. We, however, know many individuals, who, we are fully persuaded, regard this as a state of bondage; and who are anxiously looking forward to the time when they shall be enabled to escape from the trammels which sectarian influence and prejudice have imposed upon them, and recognize at the communion table, as well as every where else, the relation which they sustain to the whole body of Christ. It seems to us impossible, that Mr. Hall's works on this subject can be read by intelligent and reflecting men, who are not entirely under the dominion of prejudice, without producing an effect; and though that effect may be gradual, we confidently anticipate that it will be certain; and that to Mr. Hall more than to any other man of the day, will belong the honor of bringing one denomination at least upon the broad ground of open communion.

It is impossible, indeed, as the millenium draws nigh, but that the exclusive principles on this subject which have so long prevailed in many churches, should fade away before the brightness

of that period of light and love. All, we are persuaded, will soon see, that no religious community has a right to prescribe as a term of communion any thing more to be believed than the *fundamental truths of the gospel*; by which we mean those truths, a belief of which can justly be regarded as essential to christian character. Let a church hold as many other true doctrines as she may, we insist that her believing them shall not keep christians who have less light or less faith than herself, away from the privilege of her communion. Whether there is or is not to be some general modification of the church, as the millennial day approaches, which will melt down many different sects into one, we pretend not to predict; but it seems to us that there must be at least that commingling of christians which is involved in the principle to which we have adverted, else the church can never arrive at that state which the millenium supposes. And if there were nothing in God's word to render it certain that christians in that day will "see eye to eye," there is enough to establish the fact, in the events of Providence as they are passing before our eyes. The disciples of Christ all over the world, of whatever variety of name, have received an impulse from on high, which is carrying them rapidly and successfully forward in the great work of evangelizing the nations. Already in nearly every instance, sectarian peculiarities are forgotten in this grand and holy enterprise; and while each denomination can consent to range the whole field of action, hand in hand with other denominations, it reserves a small space and but a small space, on which it claims the privilege of standing alone; and even there for the most part, it does not hold a hostile attitude. We are persuaded that in the benevolent operations of the day, God is working faster than even christians are aware of, in redeeming the church from the curse of mutual alienations and jealousies; and that the march of benevolence is only to be extended a little farther before the church, on seeing all the great barriers which have prevented her co-operation removed, will exclaim with surprise and delight, in the spirit of unity and love, 'What hath God wrought.'

If our limits would permit, we might dwell on the influence which Mr. Hall has exerted, and is likely to exert on the civil and political destinies of England; for though he has never to our knowledge, stepped out of his appropriate sphere as a minister of the gospel, or discovered any undue predilection for mingling either directly or indirectly in the affairs of state, yet he has, both from the pulpit and the press, declared sentiments which the greatest politicians of England have not dared to disregard. What the destinies of that great nation are to be, is a question which it is becoming more and more difficult to answer, and which if we do not greatly mistake, their boldest minds cannot now agitate without

being themselves agitated. One thing, however, we regard as certain;—that in the progress of opinion, and amidst the bold steps which other nations are taking towards reform, as it respects political and religious liberty, that cumbrous religious Establishment must fall, and the event only can determine whether the throne may not be buried amidst its ruins. It is well known, that the number of Dissenters is rapidly on the increase; that their influence is felt more and more in all the departments of society, and that they are awaking to the injustice of being enormously taxed for the support of an ecclesiastical Establishment with which they cannot conscientiously be connected; and especially as this Establishment is maintained by grinding the face of suffering thousands, whose cry is continually going up to heaven. As the sons of those who fled from ecclesiastical oppression, in a much more appalling form, it were to be expected that our sympathies should be with the Dissenters; though we earnestly hope, if God will, that the change which we foresee in the ecclesiastical state of England, may be brought about without a violent national convulsion. Mr. Hall has no doubt lived at period when his influence on his country in this respect, was much greater, or will prove to be much greater, than he himself has imagined; for though his life may not be protracted to see the great crisis in English affairs which we anticipate, he has been active at a time when his efforts in the cause of civil and religious liberty, will probably have a direct bearing on that mighty result. We look upon England with veneration and love, not only as the land of our fathers' sepulchres, but as one of the most ancient fields of intellectual greatness and moral glory; and whatever may be her fortunes in other respects, in coming years and ages, we devoutly ask for her that she may sustain her honorable rank in sending abroad the gospel, and that her walls may be salvation and her gates praise.

In estimating the influence of Robert Hall, we are aware that we have been estimating the influence of one of the mightiest minds which this, or any other age has produced. But if we mistake not, there is an important lesson to be learned from the view we have taken, by persons of every order of intellect; we mean the great importance of devoting such talents as they have to the service of God and their generation. Let any individual labor faithfully with the powers which God has given him, and in the field which God has marked out before him, and though he may accomplish less than Robert Hall, he will do enough to entitle him to the gratitude of his generation, and to procure for himself a bright crown. We are accustomed to say, that it is a privilege to live at this age and in this part of the world; and it is so, not only because of the immense variety of advantages for forming one's own in-

tellectual and moral character, but on account of the greatly increased number of facilities for doing good. Considering the attitude which this country now sustains in the view of other nations, considering her immense extent, her rapidly increasing population, her political and moral relations, we do not believe that there is any part of the world, or that there has ever been a period since the beginning of time, in which a good influence would be more likely to be extensively and powerfully felt than in the period, and in the country, in which our lot is cast. There is every thing to encourage men of all ages and professions, and especially our young men of the clerical profession, to bring all their powers into exercise in the prosecution of their work ; for it were scarcely too much to say, that a faithful minister of the gospel can hardly open his lips in the delivery of his message, or in any effort to advance the cause of Christ, but he speaks ultimately to people who dwell in the ends of the earth. Let this thought be impressed upon the mind of every minister and every christian ; and let it be accompanied with a conviction that to be comparatively idle, or to be only half awake at such day as this, were enough to forfeit for any one the character of a disciple of Christ.

ART. IV.—REVIEW OF THE LIFE OF REGINALD HEBER, D. D.

The Life of Reginald Heber, D. D. Lord Bishop of Calcutta. By his Widow. With selections from his correspondence, unpublished poems, and private papers ; together with a journal of his tour in Norway, Sweden, Russia, Hungary, and Germany, and a history of the Cossacks. In two volumes. New-York.

OF Bishop Heber we can speak only with respect and kindness. We make this declaration with so much sincerity, that in expressing our dissent from some of his principles and religious views, we hope to do it with a spirit, such as he himself generally manifested, and with a full consciousness of our own liability to error. To be explicit at the outset,—we are aware that this eminent individual was, while living, the delight of his personal friends ; and now that he is dead, his memory is cherished with no ordinary veneration, by most of those, who have become acquainted with him through his writings. As an author he has honorably distinguished himself both in prose and verse. To the lovers of sentiment and song he has rendered a highly acceptable service, in many of the effusions of his fancy : and the religious public will long feel under obligation to him, for several of his sacred poems, particularly for his delightful little hymn,

“ From Greenland's icy mountains.”

From whatever cause it may arise, it is certain that he has appeared to be a favorite with the critics, who have noticed his works since his decease. Periodicals of all descriptions, so far as we have had an opportunity of seeing them, have united in praising the man and the writer. One of them,* we recollect, to which religious men, and especially titled ecclesiastics, might be supposed not at all acceptable, is singularly encomiastic in its language: and the reviewer, acquainted only with "sour" presbyterians, seems never to have expected in a bishop a character so good, so gentle, so meek, and so charitable. The death of Bishop Heber gave rise to a public expression of grief in many places, and by many ecclesiastical and benevolent societies, particularly in India; and some testimonials since given of the esteem in which he is held, are still more remarkable. In our own country, the inhabitants of Canandaigua, it is said, "were so forcibly struck with the talents and virtues of the author of the *Journal in India*, and with the piety which breathes through every sentence, that they caused his name to be engraved in letters of gold, on a rock of granite, which forms a part of the outer foundation of their Episcopal church, as a memorial of their veneration for his character."

From every account which we have had of Bishop Heber, it is evident there was something about him, which was calculated to conciliate the favor of men of all parties. It was his own opinion that obloquy is not universally or necessarily attendant on the strictest piety; and he seems to have acted upon the principle of avoiding it in almost every case, with no small solicitude. His native simplicity of heart and calmness of temper no doubt facilitated such a result. And we heartily rejoice in the good-will which he thus obtained, so far as it is a testimony to intellectual and moral worth. Still, we cannot but think, that he has been over-rated as an enlightened and consistent christian, and minister of the gospel. His very popularity—the pleasure which his name itself carries with it, to persons of almost every religious creed or no creed at all, is, to say the least, a doubtful recommendation. His *Life*, which we took up without any bias, except in his favor, and which we have perused, if we know our own hearts, without the least spirit of captious criticism, we are confident cannot sustain, in every respect, the opinion which has been formed concerning him. There was either some want in him *at first* as to those internal spiritual exercises—those experimental views which characterize the developement of true religion, or they are inadequately exhibited in his biography. We would the more willingly take the latter alternative, could we suppose the amiable authoress to have had any motive to act such

* The Edinburgh Review.

a part as Hayley for instance did, towards the pious Cowper, by withholding the facts or letters most evincive of his religious feelings ; and were it not that we meet with some things obviously opposed to strict spirituality, and to an elevated consecration of the whole soul to God. That he embraced the lax side of the question concerning the doctrines of grace, though with some qualifying statements,—that he opposed the evangelical party in the established church, or perhaps more properly thought it was a senseless dispute, in which its members were engaged,—that even *his* good nature was not a little tinctured with bigotry,—and that his notions concerning “worldly amusements,” were rather loose, and even his practice herein exceptionable at times, will, we doubt not, somewhat abate, and justly too, the admiration with which many have contemplated his character. In reading his *Life* we have felt a degree of disappointment in respect to these and a few other circumstances. Nevertheless, though differing from him in some of his theological opinions, and grieved to see him yielding too much to influences at variance with high christian aims, we rejoice to find in Bishop Heber so much that we can cordially love and safely imitate ; and on the ground of our common christianity, we can hail him as a powerful and kind-hearted ally. We are willing to believe, that in those things in which we cannot wholly approve his conduct, his heart was not deeply implicated,—that he was controlled in a great measure by the prejudices of early education and a deficient theological discipline,—that the former part of his life was by far less spiritual than the latter,—that in all, except perhaps his religious belief, he was conscious of the wish for amendment,—and that the few records of devout aspirations, and the short, though affecting prayers,* with which he consecrated the important events of his life, found in the present work, are but intimations of feelings and practices that were more frequent, if not habitual. But we would not further anticipate the remarks we design to make in the sequel, concerning his character, writings, and influence.

Of the work, to which we are indebted for our acquaintance with the life of Heber, we have to remark that it possesses a very miscellaneous character, as the title imports. The bishop's widow, as authoress, has little comparatively to say. She is concerned for the most part only in the connecting clauses, and has executed her task with much good taste and modesty. Except the short paragraphs from her own pen, the journal of her husband's travels in the north of Europe, his history of the Cossacks, his poetic effu-

* These prayers were composed in Latin. For the sake of the English reader they should have been translated, as they pleasingly exhibit the spirit of Heber, in his devotional exercises.

sions, and his private papers together with several dissertations, (which latter pieces however constitute a large part of the work,) she suffers him to tell his own story, in his familiar letters and correspondence. This, we are aware, is frequently the method pursued in modern biography; nor do we object to it, in itself. It gives to books of this kind a familiar cast, and enlivens them by a pleasing variety. Still the admission of so many sorts of composition, tempts an author to make too large a book, and necessarily encumbers it with matter foreign to the purposes of biography. Besides, we wish to see more from the pen of the biographer himself—not in bare details, in dates and incidents, but in lively and judicious comments, in sketches and estimates of character, in delineations of those influences, which form the intellect and disposition, in those *summing up* which contain the pith and substance of the preceding record. As to the last particular, we would refer to an admirable example (not, however, in commendation of its moral purpose,) in the life of Charles 12th of Sweden by Voltaire. In this work, the mind of the reader having been kept in a state of intense interest by a well conducted narrative, is prepared to receive with the highest enthusiasm, a few masterly groupings of the principal characteristics and exploits of the hero, upon the annunciation of his death. In more recent biographical works, there is very little of this kind, in the present work there is scarcely any; and what is somewhat remarkable, if we correctly remember, there is no description of Bishop Heber's person, features, or corporeal habits, or general manners.

The events in the life of Reginald Heber, which we deem important to connect with these strictures, and upon which we shall offer a few comments in passing, are very summarily the following. His birth occurred April 21st 1783 at Malpas, in the county of Chester, of which his father of the same name, was for many years a co-rector. His early childhood is recorded as having been distinguished by mildness of disposition, obedience to his parents, consideration for the feelings of those around him, and trust in God's providence. Several anecdotes are related of him in this period of his life, touching chiefly the above named characteristics. We meet, however, with no account of any particular attention to his spiritual interests, or of a religious change of feeling, either at this period or afterwards. The fruits of his early piety we suppose, therefore, are designed to be represented by some of the anecdotes alluded to. As we would not be uncharitable we receive them as such, though we should rejoice to have seen something more decisive in favor of his infantile sanctification. At the same time we utterly discard the doctrine, that the commencement of holiness in the heart is to be traced to any grace conferred in baptism, that in all *duly* baptized

persons the grace is there, whatever may be the subsequent indications. This, in common with other high churchmen, was Heber's own view respecting the efficacy of baptism, as afterwards appeared in his Critique on Scott's Force of Truth. "We believe," he says, "that in baptism a mighty work is wrought by the Holy Ghost—that the person thus devoted to God, is placed in a state of adoption and salvation, and that a seed of life is then sown, which the subsequent favor of the Holy Ghost, (as displayed in his various ordinary and providential visitations, both internal and external,) like the genial influence of the sun, invigorates, renews, and calls into action." We are not here called upon to offer our reasons against this notion, any farther than to say, that it is contravened by stubborn facts,—that in a great majority of instances, there is no evidence in after life, of any such "seed of life" implanted in the soul. We hope the reality of young Heber's piety, is not dependent on the truth of the dogma in which he was thus educated. The most pleasing of the indications of his youthful seriousness, though very unhappily described in one particular, is recorded as follows. "He very early became sensible of the necessity and importance of prayer, and was frequently overheard praying aloud in his own room, when he little thought himself within reach of observation. His sense of his entire dependence on God, and of thankfulness for the mercies which he received, was deep and *almost an instinct planted in his nature*; to his latest hour in joy as in sorrow, his heart was ever lifted in thankfulness for the goodness of his Maker, or bowed in resignation under his chastisements; and his first impulse when afflicted or rejoicing, was to fall on his knees in thanksgiving, or in intercession for himself, and for those he loved, through the mediation of his Savior."

Young Heber's command of his passions was uncommon, and such as we would earnestly recommend to the imitation of all young persons. Though he had considerable difficulty in suppressing the tender emotions, his biographer asserts that he was never heard to raise his voice in anger, or to use an impatient expression. This self-control, together with a peculiarly modest and unassuming deportment, reminds us of a like beautiful trait in the character of Timoleon, on which we have dwelt with much pleasure. Concerning him his historian remarks, as the classical reader may recollect, "*nihil enim unquam, neque insolens. neque gloriosum, ex ore ejus exiit.*"* A mortifying contrast to this morality, occurs to us at this moment in the writings of Junius, favored as he was with the light and examples furnished by christianity, when he says that "insults force the mind to recover its level by revenge," and dog-

* Cor. Nep. De Timoleon. Cap. IV.

matically and absurdly pronounces the infamy of that young man to be *in mortal*, who suffers himself to receive a blow, without returning it. With the specimens presented of Heber's disposition and feelings, we are certainly delighted, whether they are to be considered as indicating incipient grace, or merely a singularly susceptible and well balanced mind. We have no doubt, whatever may be thought of the present case, that piety of heart developing itself gently and almost imperceptibly, not unfrequently commences under the circumstances in which Heber was placed, enjoying as he did access to the bible, and other means of religious instruction and impression.

Like almost all men of intellectual greatness, he was in childhood, fond of reading; and like many of them, his faculties were early developed. To the list of such men as Milton, Bacon, Pope, Pascal, and Dwight, whose extraordinary precocity of talents was no less pleasing in itself, than indicative of future eminence, Heber certainly belongs. He was so early a proficient in classical learning, that when seven years old, he had translated Phædrus into English verse. But we shall not dwell on this period of his life except to add, that his habit of reading accompanied by a memory of uncommon strength, furnished him with a large stock of information; and that he manifested a talent at composition both in prose and verse, especially the latter, far beyond his years. It is important to observe also, that his bible was never neglected in consequence of his ardent devotion to classic pursuits; nor must we refrain from mentioning, as an inconsistency, that he was occasionally led into what are called trivial errors, though he was free from serious faults.* After Heber's entrance into the university at Oxford in 1800, the promise of excellence already intimated, was remarkably fulfilled. His literary career was splendid and successful. "At the university," said one of his early friends, "he was, beyond all question or comparison, the most distinguished student

* Mr. Heber at this time professes to have had no fondness for attending races, balls, and masquerades, though mention is made of his mingling in a single instance, in these amusements, immediately previous to his going to the university. Afterwards, however, when he was on his northern tour, he speaks of attending the French theatre at Petersburg rather frequently. His opinion on the subject of amusements is given in another place. In speaking of the fact of his gayety in the instance adverted to, he uses the following language in a letter to his distinguished friend John Thornton, Esq. "I have been a much gayer fellow than usual of late, having been at a race, and also at what I never saw before, a masquerade. This catalogue of jaunts, though not much for a girl, has been a great deal for me, and has indeed quite satisfied me. If these things are so little interesting even while they have the charm of novelty, I think I shall care very little indeed for them, when that is worn off." We are not sorry to find that Heber's spirit could mingle with so little delight in such scenes.

of his time. The name of Reginald Heber, was in every mouth ; his society was courted by young and old ; he lived in an atmosphere of favor, admiration, and regard, from which I have never known any one but himself, who would not have derived, and for life, an unsalutary influence." The second year of his university course he gained the chancellor's prize, by his Latin verse—*Carmen Seculare*—a poem on the commencement of the new century. The heathen cast of thought in one or two instances, seems better to accord with the language in which this poem is written, than with christian verity. But this may, perhaps, be pardonable in an ardent young man, so deeply imbued with classic lore.

" Nam Pater omnipotens ignotis legibus orbem
Temperat, et denso noctis velatus amictu
Sceptra tenet, nobis credo, neque machina rerum
Tota patet, certive arcana volumina FATI."

In 1803, young Heber met with success still more signal, in having produced the best English poem on a prize subject, entitled *Palestine*. This piece procured for the author unwonted applause at the time of reciting it, and has since been considerably celebrated. It is no doubt adorned with many beauties of language and thought—is chaste in its conception, and rich in its imagery : yet on the whole it strikes us as deficient in ease, and possessing far less of the thrilling spirit of poetry, than is found in many similar English poems which we could name. But we need not dwell any longer on his academical career, which was thus crowned with the most gratifying instances of successful competition. As is the fact with too many students of professed piety during their collegiate life, and when ardently engaged in their literary pursuits, we meet with less decided indications of religious feeling in his letters written during this period, than at any other time. Few or no breathings after holiness, or regrets over the corruption of his heart, are expressed, though we by no means infer that they were not sometimes felt.

The year after he left the university, he made the tour of the northern and eastern parts of Europe in company with his friend J. Thornton. The results of his observation during this tour, appear in the present work, embracing about two hundred and sixty pages in his correspondence, and in a journal which he kept. They are interesting sketches, neatly written, and embody a good deal of valuable information. So far, however, as we have looked over this portion of the work, we have observed nothing particularly worthy of commendation as far as religion is concerned, either in the manner or matter of the communication.

Mr. Heber returned from the continent in September, 1806 ; and after spending a short time in canvassing for his brother, he began his preparation for the christian ministry. This task he soon completed, and in 1807 he took orders, and was inducted by his brother into the family living of Hodnet in Shropshire. This living was estimated at £3000 per annum, comprising the estate of his ancestors, which had been held by his father during the last years of his life. He now married Amelia, daughter of Dr. Shipley, dean of St. Asaph, and thenceforward cheerfully devoted himself to the duties of his profession. His standard, though not the highest, was elevated, and his views as to doctrine and practice, though in several respects less strict than those of most of our own clergy, were rigid, in comparison with the views of a large majority in the establishment. There were many particulars in which all who bear the sacred office, might safely imitate Mr. Heber. Though he certainly possessed, in an unusual degree, the means of temporal enjoyment,—in domestic charities, in ample means of living, in a cultivated taste, in literary recreations, in an extending reputation, and surrounded by his relatives, and an intelligent and agreeable society ; yet amidst them all, he appears to have been for the most part exemplary, humble, unambitious, and self-denying. His income, to a considerable extent, was expended in almsgiving and other benefactions. We have no doubt from the account of his ministerial character and conduct, that according to his idea of the sacred function, he was a most kind, diligent, laborious, and faithful clergyman. Plans both for the temporal improvement and the spiritual welfare of his flock, engaged much of his attention. Reformations of conduct appear to have taken place, and we hope also, changes of an internal and spiritual kind. Mr. Heber was a good deal engaged in literary labors and projects at this period of his life,—perhaps too much so for one who had the care of a very extensive parish. He possessed, however, ready materials for these purposes,—accumulated stores of fancy and learning,—and therefore expended less time upon them than most others would have done, under the pressure of the same engagements. His extensive reputation subjected him to numerous calls of this nature ; and moreover many of them were made more or less directly to subserve the cause of religion. His distinction as a scholar and as a divine, among those of his class, drew him out also on a number of public occasions ; and several able publications were the result of these demands. In some of the benevolent enterprises of the day he was much engaged, and in their vindication in several instances, his services were cheerfully tendered and zealously bestowed. In his place at Hodnet as a country clergyman, he continued fifteen years, performing quietly and happily the duties of his sacred office, and

finding time for the literary and other avocations which have been alluded to. The productions of his pen during this period were considerably numerous. The principal among these, were his Hymns, adapted to the English church service,—a small volume of poems not including the hymns,—the Bampton lectures, which he delivered in 1815,—several critical essays, both theological and literary, which appeared without his name, in the periodical publications of the day, particularly the *Quarterly Review*,—and an edition of the works of Jeremy Taylor, with a sketch of his life and a critique on his writings. Mr. Heber was also employed more or less during this period in composing a dictionary of the bible, which was designed to supply the defects of Calmet. As we shall have occasion to speak of some of these productions soon, we will not longer detain the reader here, but must hasten to the events of that shorter, but still more important period of his life which follows.

The See of Calcutta having been vacated by the death of Dr. Middleton, was in 1823 offered to Mr. Heber. After much reflection and prayer and consultation with his friends, he consented to accept it. Having in due form took leave of his beloved congregation, and been consecrated to the office of a bishop, he set sail with his family in June of that year for India. Here a wide field of enterprise and usefulness was spread before him, and he did not fail to enter and improve it. His predilections for the ecclesiastical order in which he had been trained and brought up, were sufficiently strong to prompt him to use every effort for its extension, had he not been actuated, as we sincerely believe, he was, by a higher motive. Accordingly, he seems to have resolved on making the most of his station and influence, and to have given himself to the high duties that had been imposed upon him, with unwearied assiduity. His attention to the inferior clergy in the diocese of India, and his visitations of the congregations there, were conceived and executed in the true spirit of a zealous and high minded bishop. No time was lost; but dismissing, as far as practicable for a season, his domestic cares, he commenced his tour of ministerial inspection, visiting both christians and natives, as opportunities offered, and devising measures to promote the edification of the one, and the conversion of the other. Such means as could be commanded he caused to be put into operation, and great benefit to the interests of christianity, so far as they are identified with the Episcopal church, was the result. Many interesting particulars respecting his labors and success in India, are recorded in his biography, a few of which will be noticed in extracts soon to be given. Suffice it to say here, that by his instrumentality, an increased interest in the gospel was created in that country. Many christians and natives were confirmed; the missionary spirit was in a measure revived;

and the bishop, after performing various services and making one visitation of fifteen months continuance, principally through the northern parts of India, and other visitations of a shorter period, was suddenly cut off in the midst of his zealous and useful career. As we shall not have occasion to speak again of this important period of Dr. Heber's life, it will gratify our readers, without doubt, to learn by a few extracts from his biographer and his own correspondence, the feelings with which he contemplated his appointment to the diocesan charge of Christian India, and the manner in which he performed the duties of that appointment; the cause of his death; and some other interesting particulars.

These feelings would have at once decided me to be of the same opinion which C. W. Wynn expresses, were I quite sure whether I should not do God more acceptable service by going than by staying here. In the acceptance of *this* bishoprick I should be, at least, sure that I was not actuated by secular or unworthy views. I verily believe and hope, that I should be of considerable use there by moderating between the two missionary societies, and directing their efforts in accordant and useful channels; and by a removal into an entirely new sphere of action, we should both have the advantage of, in some measure, beginning life anew, unfettered by previous habits and intimacies, and only studious how we might best live to God and the good of his creatures. Vol. II. pp. 93, 94.

In making this decision I hope and believe that I have been guided by conscientious feelings. I can at least say that I have prayed to God most heartily to show me the path of duty, and to give me grace to follow it; and the tranquility of mind which I now feel, (very different from that which I experienced after having declined it,) induces me to hope that I have His blessing and approbation. And as most of my friends tell me, I should have done more wisely, in a worldly point of view, if I had remained at home, I am, perhaps, so much the more ready to hope that it has not been the dignity of a mitre, or the salary of 5000*l.* a year which have tempted me.

I often, however, feel my heart sick when I recollect the sacrifices which I must make of friends, such as few, very few, have been blessed with. Yet it is a comfort to me to think that most of them are younger than myself; and that if I live through my fifteen years' service; and should then think myself justified in returning, we may hope to spend the evening of our lives together. But be this as it may, I am persuaded that prayer can traverse land and sea, and not only keep affection alive between absent friends, but send blessings from one to the other. Pray for me, my dear Thornton, that my life and doctrine may be such as they ought to be; that I may be content in my station, active in my duty, and firm in my faith,—and that, when I have preached to others, I may not be myself a cast-away. Vol. II. pp. 106, 107.

The affection of his parishioners and the pain of parting, show the pleasantness of the relation which they had mutually sustained. In a letter to John Thornton, Esq. he says,

I feel much obliged by your friendly and interesting letters, as well as

by the kind trouble which, I learn from Emily, you have taken respecting the piece of plate which my parishioners have subscribed for.

It was, I believe, to have been kept a secret from me; but as a question arose, both respecting the form and the inscription, the honor intended me came to my knowledge a little sooner than it might otherwise have done. This mark of their good will, in times like the present, is very gratifying and affecting; and it is by no means the only one which I have met with. In my visits to different cottages, and in my conversations with the laborers in the fields, and by the road-side, the tears have been more than once or twice conjured up into my eyes by their honest expressions of good will and prayers for my welfare. I certainly did not expect to feel so painfully as I have done, my approaching separation from my parish; nor was I at all aware of the degree of regard which these good and kind-hearted people appear to have entertained for me. God bless them! I cannot help feeling ashamed of an affection which I have so imperfectly deserved! There is a pretty stanza in one of Southey's poems, the truth of which has often struck me, but never, I think, so much as to-day.

"I've heard of hearts unkind--kind deeds
With scorn or hate returning;
Alas!--the *gratitude* of man
Has oftener left me mourning!"

pp. 123, 124.

In this connection, before he left England, he addressed a letter, admirable for its plainness, faithfulness, and correct temperance principles, to an intemperate parishioner and neighbor. We can only refer to it, beginning on the 127th page of the 2d volume.

The interest which Bishop H. took in the spiritual welfare of India, was manifested immediately upon his arrival, by reconciling the differences that existed between certain of the clergy there, by efforts in aid of the Bishop's College at Calcutta, by preaching in behalf of the Society for Propagating the Gospel, and collecting funds for it, and besides several other public services, by making the visitations before mentioned. These visitations were connected with the performance of a vast amount of ecclesiastical business, including frequent preaching, conversation, and writing to individuals and benevolent societies. The activity, diligence, and self-denial of the bishop are truly exemplary, as appears below.

The scarcity of chaplains in the Bengal presidency, and the bad health of some of those who were resident in Calcutta, made the bishop feel it necessary to perform, himself, as much or more than he had been accustomed to do in England. On one Sunday, some weeks after his arrival, he wrote two sermons; preached twice in the cathedral; baptized a child in the fort; and read through, and commented on a large packet of papers on ecclesiastical business. The unfortunate detention of the ship which contained nearly all his manuscript sermons, added much to the pressure of business in which he was involved; inasmuch as he generally had to compose one whenever he preached. But though he frequently went to bed exhausted with the labors of the day, to which were added the demands upon his time and attention which the common civilities of life require, and which were the more cheerfully complied with as he felt that his

influence among the higher ranks of society in Calcutta increased, the more familiarly he associated with them, he seldom could be persuaded to relax from the rules he had prescribed to himself, so soon as he became acquainted with the state of the church in India, and in which he persisted with rather augmenting than decreasing diligence to the last. And this too in a climate which more particularly indisposes men to exertion of any kind, whether mental or bodily; and where the constant exhaustion during the greater part of the year is such, as no one except from experience, can picture to himself. The bishop thus describes the heat. "It is impossible to sit still under the most favorable circumstances, without streaming with perspiration; our windows are close shut up, and our rooms darkened to keep out the hot and molten atmosphere, which streams in wherever it can find an entrance, like the breath of a huge blast furnace." Often has the editor earnestly requested him to spare himself, when, on descending from the pulpit he saw him almost unable to speak from exhaustion; or when after a few hours rest at night, he would rise at four o'clock to attend a meeting, or visit a school, and then pass the whole of the day, till sunset, in mental labor, without allowing himself the hour's mid-day sleep in which the most active generally indulge. To such remonstrances he would answer, that these things were necessary to be done; and that the more zealous he was in the discharge of his own duties, he could, with the greater justice, urge activity on such of his clergy as he might deem deficient. pp. 189—191.

The account by his chaplain, the Rev. Mr. Robinson, of his visit to Tanjore, presents the bishop in an interesting light.

"In the evening the bishop attended a Tamul service in the same church, which was literally crowded with the native christians of Tanjore and the surrounding villages, many of whom had come from a considerable distance to be present on this occasion. Mr. Barenbruck, assisted by a native priest, read the prayers, Dr. Cæmmerer, from Tranquebar, preached, and the bishop delivered the blessing in Tamul from the altar. Mr. Kohloff assured me that his pronunciation was remarkably correct and distinct, and the breathless silence of the congregation testified their delight and surprise at this affecting recognition of their churches as a part of his pastoral charge. I desired one of the native priests to ascertain how many were present, and I found they exceeded *thirteen hundred*; yet by the judicious arrangement of excluding the infants, whom their poor mothers are in general obliged to bring, there was not the least disorder or confusion; and I have seen no congregation even in Europe, by whom the responses of the liturgy are more generally and correctly made, or where the psalmody is more devotional and correct. The effect was more than electric; it was a deep and thrilling interest, in which memory, and hope, and joy mingled with the devotion of the hour, to hear so many voices, but lately rescued from the polluting services of the pagoda, joining in the pure and heavenly music of the Easter Hymn, and the 100th Psalm, and uttering the loud Amen at the close of every prayer. For the last ten years I have longed to witness a scene like this, but the reality exceeds all my expectations. I wished that some of those (if any of that number still remain) who deem all missionary exertion, under any circumstances, a senseless chimera, and confound the humble and silent labors of these devoted men with the dreams of fanaticism or the frauds of imposture, could have witnessed this sensible refutation of their cold and heartless theories. The bishop's heart

was full ; and never shall I forget the energy of his manner and the heavenly expressions of his countenance, when he exclaimed, as I assisted him to take off his robes, 'gladly would I exchange years of common life for one such day as this !' Some time after he had retired to rest, while I was writing in my bed-room, which is next to his, he came back to me to renew the subject on which his thoughts were intensely fixed— and his often repeated expressions of wonder and thankfulness at the scenes of the past day, were followed by a fervent prayer for the people, for the clergy, and for himself." pp. 395, 396.

Mrs. Heber relates in her own language the last acts of his life, and the circumstances of his death. We are not perhaps to wonder at the reflection she makes, towards the conclusion of the extract.

At day-break on the fatal 3d of April, he went to the mission church in the fort, where service was performed in the Tamul language ; after which he confirmed fifteen natives in their own language, and again delivered his address on confirmation. He afterwards went to the mission house and examined into the state of the schools, though without staying in the school room, as he found it close and disagreeable from having been shut up the preceding day, and left it immediately. He then received an address from the poor christians, earnestly praying that he would send them a pastor to watch over and instruct them. His answer was given with that gentleness and kindness of heart which never failed to win the affections of all who heard him, promising that he would take immediate measures to provide them with a spiritual guide. He had, indeed, before he received this application, resolved on appointing Mr. Schreivogel, a Danish missionary who had petitioned, under rather singular circumstances, for a removal from Tranquebar to Vepery or Trichinopoly, to this station. From all that the bishop had heard of his private character, and of the esteem in which he was held by his own flock, in the Danish mission, as well as from personal intercourse with him, he thought that he could not better supply the wants of this important station than by committing it to his superintendence.

The bishop had gone to the fort in a close carriage, so that he could have sustained no injury from the sun ; Mr. Robinson was too ill to leave his bed, but he was accompanied by Mr. Doran, and conversed with him both going and returning with animation and earnestness, on the important duties of missionaries, and on the state of christianity in the south of India. On his arrival at Mr. Bird's house, before he took off his robes. he went into Mr. Robinson's room, and sitting down by his bed side, entered with energy into the concerns of the mission. His interest had been much excited by all which he had seen ; he spoke with sorrow of its poverty, and remarked how necessary it was for the bishop to have regular reports from every mission in India, that he might, at least, know the wants and necessities of all. He said he had seen nothing in the whole of his diocese that so powerfully interested him, and his mental excitement was such that he showed no appearance of bodily exhaustion. He then retired into his own room, and according to his invariable custom, wrote on the back of the address on confirmation, "Trichinopoly, April, 3, 1826." This was his last act, for immediately on taking off his clothes, he went into a large cold bath, where he had bathed the two preceding mornings, but which was now the destined

agent of his removal to Paradise! Half an hour after, his servant, alarmed at his long absence, entered the room and found him a lifeless corpse! Every means to restore animation, which human skill or friendship could suggest, were resorted to, but the vital spark was extinguished, and his blessed spirit had then entered on its career of immortality, and perhaps was at that moment looking down with fond pity on the exertions of those who would fain have recalled it to its earthly habitation, to endure again the trials and temptations of the world it had quitted. And, surely, if ever sudden death were desirable, it must be under such circumstances. With a heart full of love towards God and zeal for His service, and of that charity and good will towards mankind which are its certain accompaniments, having just officiated in his sacred office, listened with kindness to the wants of his poor brethren, and detailed some of his plans for their relief, he was called to receive his reward. He had scarcely ceased from glorifying God in his mortal state, when he was summoned to join in that angelic chorus of praise and thanksgiving, whose voices fill heaven in honor of their Maker and Redeemer.

Blessed, thrice blessed, indeed, is the servant who, when his Lord cometh, is found thus prepared!

It were a useless, and deeply painful task to enter into any detail of the apparent cause of his death: it is sufficient to say that disease had, unsuspected, been existing for some time; and that it was the opinion of all the medical men in attendance, that under no circumstances could his invaluable life have been very long preserved, though the event was undoubtedly hastened by the effects of climate, by intense mental application to those duties which increased in interest with every step he took, and was finally caused by the effects of cold on a frame exhausted by heat and fatigue. His mortal remains were attended to the grave with the highest honors, and followed by the tears of the inhabitants of Trichinopoly. They rest on the north side of the altar in St. John's Church. Vol. II. pp. 411—413.

Something of the amount and value of his labors will have been learned from a part of the narratives introduced above. He undoubtedly made a happy impression in that country, in favor of christianity itself, viewed in its gentler features, and those traits that are less obnoxious to human corruption. His precepts and example held it up, not perhaps in its most uncompromising character; yet as a beneficent institution, inspiring and heightening the charities of life, improving the intellectual and moral nature of man, and filling the soul with pure and peaceful emotions. His activity in the enervating climate of India was not less extraordinary, than deserving of commendation. He planned much, and executed, so far as life was extended, all that he planned. His conciliating spirit enabled him to reconcile the most conflicting interests, and in the extensive see which he held, he performed its peculiarly difficult duties to almost universal acceptance. His measures were all shaped, as might naturally be expected, with a view to give permanency to the cause of British episcopacy, in the Asiatic territories of the empire. It is needless

to repeat, that his sudden death filled christian India with the most profound regret, and called forth numerous public and individual expressions of sorrow. The meetings held in Madrass, Calcutta, Bombay, and other places, as well as the resolutions of the different missionary and other religious societies in India, all spoke the same language of admiration for his talents and virtues, and of grief for his early removal from the world.

The high station, successful career, and indisputable excellencies of Bishop Heber should not, however, blind us to his theological errors, his dislike for the evangelical party in the establishment, his biogotry as manifested at times towards the dissenters, and his tolerance of some more than questionable practices in the gay world. These as well as other general characteristics of a more favorable kind, have been already alluded to, and deserve additional illustration. This we shall attempt to do, by selecting several passages of a more miscellaneous description, than those that have been already offered to the reader's notice. These will exhibit Heber in his studies, his every day character, his ruling principles, and the feelings of his heart: at the same time they will show more particularly the manner of the work, and the entertainment which may be expected from it, especially from the epistolary portion.

In the following letter, he seems to give a very honest account of himself and his congregation, in the extract here subjoined.

As to your enquiries respecting my parish, I hardly know what answer to make. I have reason to believe that both my conduct and my sermons are well liked, but I do not think any great amendment takes place in my hearers. My congregations are very good, and the number of communicants increases. The principal faults of which I have to complain are, occasional drunkenness, and, after they have left the church, a great disregard of Sunday. You know my notions respecting the obligations of the christian sabbath are by no means strict; but I have seen much mischief arise from its neglect, and have been taking some pains to prevent it. By the assistance, I may say advice, of one of the church wardens, a very worthy and sensible, though plain farmer, the shopkeepers have been restrained from selling on Sundays; and I have persuaded the inn-keepers to sign an agreement, binding themselves under a five guinea forfeiture, not to allow drinking on that day. But though the wealthy farmers and women are generally orderly, the young laborers are a dissolute set, and I have not so much influence with them now as I had when I was their captain. It is a misfortune to me, in so wide a parish, that I am slow in remembering either names or faces, which is a very useful talent. I trust, however, to acquire this gradually. My psalm-singing continues bad. Can you tell me where I can purchase Cowper's Olney hymns, with the music, and in a smaller size without the music, to put in the seats? Some of them I admire much, and any novelty is likely to become a favorite, and draw more people to join in the singing. What book is used at the Lock? If I could get one or two I should like to select from them. The Methodists are neither very numerous nor very active, they have no regular meetings, but as-

semble from great distances to meet a favorite preacher. Yet I have sometimes thought, and it has really made me uncomfortable, that since Rowland Hill's visit to the country, my congregation was thinner. Perhaps it was only owing to the bad weather, as my numbers are now a little increasing again. The test here of a churchman is the sacrament, which the Methodists never attend. Vol. I. pp. 334, 335.

In the following passage our readers will remark among other things, Heber's dislike of the evangelical preachers in the church.

I have so many presents to thank you for lately, that I hardly know where to begin; the first, since the magnificent candlesticks, were 'Cœlebs and Zeal without innovation.' Cœlebs is deservedly popular and likely to do much good, though not so lively as I expected; in many places, indeed, the story flags sadly. The other I have read through with great attention, and can join most cordially in your approbation of it; it is candid, sensible, and well written, and shows every where a well ordered and well informed heart and head. Is Gisborne the author? I suspect it strongly from many circumstances in the book, which seem likely to come from him. I can hardly hope that he will receive more than the attention which peacemakers generally obtain; or that any great reconciliation can take place between the parties he attempts to soothe. But where he gives advice to the younger and rising clergy, and points out the regular orderly means of doing good, he has a less thankless, and I trust will have a successful employment. To many well disposed young men who feel a wish to do good, yet hardly know how to set about it, his book will, I think, be very useful. I cannot say he has much decreased my dislike of the evangelical preachers, considered as a body. Their corporation spirit, and the assumption of Evangelical as a party title, he very properly attacks them for; though he omits the name by which they are, I fear, very apt to distinguish all the respectable and religious men who are not of their own number—I mean that of 'formalists.' On the whole, if he obtain but a small number of followers, and if the phalanx of party is weakened on either side, he will have conferred a great benefit on religion, have made many excellent men more useful than they are at present, and taken away from Messrs. H—— and H—— much of the supposed countenance they at present receive from many who differ from them in almost every point of faith and conduct. Vol. I. pp. 240, 241.

We give below two lively sketches which he has drawn of himself, shewing a singular mixture of feelings and views in respect to his profession.

I have had an infirmity sermon, a long article for a Review, and am now engaged in a charity sermon, besides the weekly demand for sermons in my own parish, and the almost daily calls of parochial duty. Nor am I idle in other pursuits, for I read Plato, and am, though slowly, making progress in a poem, which if it does not miscarry, will be longer than any of my preceding ones; it is, however, but too probable that when my summer rambles and hedge-row walks are stopped by sleet and mire, I shall, as has been generally the case, find my Pegasus in a *slough of despond*. Vol. I. 347, 348.

It is very foolish, perhaps; but I own I sometimes think that I am not thrown into that situation of life for which I am best qualified. I am

in a sort of half way station between a parson and a squire; condemned, in spite of myself, to attend to the duties of the latter, while yet I neither do nor can attend to them sufficiently; nor am I quite sure that even my literary habits are well suited to the situation of a country clergyman. I have sometimes felt an unwillingness in quitting my books for the care of my parish; and have been tempted to fancy that, as my studies are scriptural, I was not neglecting my duty. Yet I must not, and cannot deceive myself; the duties which I am paid to execute, have certainly the first claim on my attention; and while other pursuits are my amusement, these are properly my calling. Probably, had I not been a scholar, other pursuits, or other amusements, would have stepped in, and I should have been exposed to equal or greater temptations; but, I confess, when I consider, how much I might have done, and how little, comparatively, I have done in my parish, I sometimes am inclined to think that a fondness for study is an unfortunate predilection for one who is the pastor of so many people. The improvement of my parish does not correspond to those pleasant dreams with which I entered on my office. My neighbors profess to esteem me; but an easy temper will, in this respect go a great way. I write sermons, and have moderately good congregations; but not better than I had on first commencing my career. The schools, &c. which I projected, are all comparatively at a stand-still; and I am occasionally disposed to fancy that a man cannot attend to two pursuits at once, and that it will be at length necessary to burn my books, like the early converts to christianity; and since Providence has called me to a station which so many regard with envy, to give my undivided attention to the duties which it requires. Vol. I. pp. 372, 373.

We extract below an interesting sketch of his mode of life, in which some of our readers will perceive with regret the countenance which he gave to worldly amusements.

He was an early riser, and after the family devotions were ended, he usually spent seven or eight hours among his books, leaving them only at the call of duty. Fond of society, and eminently qualified to shine in it, he never suffered his relish for its pleasure to betray him into neglecting his duties. He delighted in literature, but at the same time, was a most active parish priest; remarkably happy in gaining the confidence and affection of his flock, he found his purest pleasures in administering to their necessities, and in attending their sick and dying beds; in consoling the mourner, in exhorting the sinner to repentance, and in endeavoring to draw all hearts after him to his God. Vol. I. pp. 398.

It will be seen, as well from the tenor of Mr. Reginald Heber's writings already before the world, as from the present correspondence, that although his mind was deeply imbued with devotional feelings, he considered a moderate participation in what are usually called "worldly amusements," as allowable and blameless. When the editor requested his advice on this subject the year after her marriage, being for a short time without him in London, his answer was, "you may go where you please, as I am sure you will not exceed the the limits of moderation, except to Sunday evening parties, to which I have a very serious objection." He thought that the strictness, which made no distinction between things blameable only in their abuse, and practices which were really immoral, was prejudicial to the interests of true religion; and on this point his opinion remained unchanged to the last. His own life, indeed, was a proof that amusements so participated in may be perfectly harmless, and no way interfere with any reli-

gious or moral duty. The sabbath he kept with christian reverence, but not with Mosaical strictness.* Vol. I. pp. 393, 399.

Of the sin of separating from the Church of England, Dr. Heber's ideas were sufficiently terrific. His bigotry on this point and others connected with it, contrasting unhappily with his general liberality and kindness, is several times evinced in these memoirs. A striking instance of this feeling, is seen in his forbidding the Rev. Rowland Hill to preach to a portion of his parishioners, because at the same time that gentleman proposed preaching in a dissenting chapel. We should like to present the letters which he addressed to Mr. Hill and to the brother of the latter, but we can only refer to them in Vol. I. pp. 401, 402. Though Dr. Heber professes to be sensible how much "he might learn from his (Rev. R. Hill's) dauntless zeal and unwearied exertions;" yet he would never permit the pulpits where he had any influence, to be "used by a person who encourages by his presence and preaching, a dissenting place of worship."

Were it consistent with the limits which must be observed by us, we should offer several observations on the essays and miscellaneous papers in the present work; but we can find space only for a brief notice of the bishop's *Critique* on Scott's Force of Truth. We learn from it with some particularity his religious feelings, and what we conceive to be his mistaken views on several important scriptural doctrines.

Among these views, we may notice the dangerous error of maintaining, that the gospel contains a mitigation of the moral law, as given by Moses. We say the *moral* law, because this undeniably was the law referred to by Scott in the passage which the bishop condemns, and in reply to which he says, "Is not the gospel a mitigated law, when Christ himself has called his 'yoke easy and his burden light,' in comparison with the law of Moses?" *Life*, vol. i. p. 509. Now if Dr. Heber had turned to the passage (Matt. xi. 30.) which he seems to have quoted from memory, he would have found that Christ makes no comparison of this kind. Nor is there any evidence, that the burden from which he offered to deliver the "weary and heavy laden," was one imposed even by the *ceremonial* law, though some commentators have so imagined; much less by the moral law, which so far from being a burden, is to every pious mind, what it was to David, "a *delight* in the house of his

* Bishop Heber elsewhere says, of the differences between the High Church and Evangelical party, "The usual sources of dispute and difference are in things too *trifling* to be reasoned on, on the *legality of cards or public amusements*, or whether it is allowable to have a hot dinner on Sunday, etc. Now my own opinion on these points is, that they are no where forbidden; that duly moderated they are perfectly harmless;—and that it is a return to the severity of the Mosaic law to teach the contrary." Vol. I. 519.

pilgrimage." "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with *all* thy heart," "and thy neighbor as thyself," is the rule laid down as well by Christ as by Moses. And it was, we fear from loose and indefinite conceptions of this subject,—from too low a standard of christian attainment, that Dr. Heber was led into those views respecting the observance of the sabbath, a participation in fashionable amusements, and a moderate conformity to the world, which we have alluded to with pain in a former instance.

Most of the *Critique* before us is devoted to the refutation of Calvinism. In his anxiety to put down the doctrine of the final perseverance of all Christ's true followers—those who have been given to him by the Father, and effectually called by the Holy Spirit—Dr. Heber has brought forward an argument which strikes us as entirely new. It is no less than this, that Judas Iscariot, before he betrayed his Master, was a pious man, one of Christ's true sheep, who "hear his voice" and "follow" him!! This, so far as we know, is an original conception. Even Dr. Adam Clarke, who labors hard to prove, that Judas may have been truly converted about the time, when (according to Matthew) he hanged himself, seems never to have thought of strengthening his argument by the fact, that he had been a true convert before. Our readers will be curious to learn, in what part of the scriptures Dr. Heber has found so much new light on this subject. The following passage will show. "If any men were ever effectually called to salvation, they must have been those whom Christ himself selected from the world; and to all of whom without exception, He promises, that they should sit with Him, 'on twelve thrones,' in His kingdom. No one will dare to say, that Christ could have made such a promise to any person, who was at that time in a state of reprobation." Vol. I. p. 512. But the bishop seems to have forgotten, that the promise may have been made, not to the *person* but to the *office*, not to the twelve as individuals, but as apostles; thus belonging from the first to Matthias, who took "the ministry and apostleship from which Judas by transgression fell." That it did not belong to Judas *personally* is clear, for it was absolute and unconditional, and yet as to him it was not fulfilled: and we see not how Dr. Heber's theory can stand, without convicting our Savior of a breach of promise. As to the piety of Judas, the bishop seems, likewise, to have forgotten his general character, as given by John, "he cared not for the poor, but was a *thief*, and kept the bag, (common purse) and bare (*ἐσάστρεν*, *stole* from time to time,) what was put therein."* As to his having ever been one of Christ's "elect" or "chosen," our Savior seems to have settled that point by saying, in reference to his true disciples, "I speak not of you all, I *know*

* Vide Kuinoel in locum.

whom *I have chosen*, but that the scripture may be fulfilled, he that eateth bread with me hath lifted up his heel against me." It is indeed a striking exhibition of the power of prejudice, that so excellent a man as bishop Heber should speak as he has done of the early character of Judas Iscariot, for the sake of opposing a doctrine supported by such declarations as these, "*My sheep hear my voice and they follow me, and I give unto them eternal life, and they shall never perish, neither shall any pluck them out of my hand.*"

But on this, as well as the other leading doctrines which he opposes, bishop Heber totally misunderstands and misrepresents the sentiments of modern Calvinists, and particularly of Scott, whose Treatise he was professedly examining. To show this, we subjoin the following extracts from his *Critique*, in which he gives as the sentiments of *all* Calvinists, what he ought to have known most Calvinists have rejected with utter abhorrence, for more than a century.

I know that there are modern Calvinists who, with amiable inconsistency, profess to hold the doctrine of election without that of reprobation. But it is strange that any man can be so blind as not to perceive that the one involves the other. The doctrine of election, as generally stated, and as held by all Calvinists, is, that *all* who are saved are saved by an *effectual* call from God which raises them from the lost condition in which they are by nature; a call which, as it proceeds from his absolute purpose that they should be saved, *they have no power to resist*, seeing that he inclines their will to obey at the same moment that he makes himself known unto them. But if *none* are saved who have not this call, *all* are damned who have it not; and since men are damned for their *sins*, and since those who are not called, cannot *help sinning*, seeing it is the nature which cleaves to them, and which they can no more get rid of than they can creep out of their bodies,—it follows that men are damned, that is, punished everlastingly by a merciful God, *for actions which they could not help committing!* Vol. I. p. 512.

But the condition of the majority of mankind, according to the system of Calvin, is that of many millions of creatures brought into the world *in order* that they may sin, and die, and suffer everlastingly, without any power, either of their own, or given them from above, to avoid the wrath to come; punished in hell-fire for actions which it was the misfortune of their nature not to be able to avoid. Nor is this all; for if the system be true, the coming of Christ was, to these unfortunate beings, the most refined and dreadful act of cruelty which could have been inflicted. I prove it thus. All christians agree, that they to whom Christ was preached, and who did not believe in him, incurred by this hardness of heart a great additional guilt, and will be punished more severely in hell than they otherwise would have been. But no person could believe without God's grace assisting and disposing him to do it. The Arminian says, that this grace is given to every man to profit withal, and that they who neglect or resist it, perish by their own fault.

But what says the Calvinist,—this grace is only given to God's elect. God's elect were but a small proportion of those to whom Christ was preached. Therefore the greater number had no power to believe whatever.

In other words, God sent his Son into the world with offers of mercy and salvation to all men, on certain conditions, which were morally impossible for most men to fulfil. And not only did he thus mock them with pretended mercy, but he actually made their not availing themselves of that mercy, a pretext for punishing them more severely! God forgive those who hold doctrines which lead to a conclusion so horrible! Vol. I. p. 514.

In these passages Dr. Heber represents *all* Calvinists, and particularly (by implication) Scott, against whom his argument was directed, as maintaining the following doctrines.

1. That divine grace in conversion and sanctification, is *irresistible*. "They have no power to resist."

2. "That men are damned for actions which they *could not help committing*." That men "have no power either of their own, or or given them from above, to avoid the wrath to come."

3. That "the greater number (of mankind) have no power to believe *whatever*."

4. "That many millions of creatures are brought into the world *in order* that they may sin, and die, and suffer everlastingly." This is what is called the *supralapsarian* scheme,—viz. that the lost are reprobated by God, not as *sinner*s, but as *beings* in their very creation.

Now if bishop Heber had been some ignorant and vulgar declaimer against the doctrine of distinguishing grace, we should have felt no great surprise at these representations. But that statements of this kind respecting the faith of *all* Calvinists, should be made by one who was on many subjects a man of real learning, and who on this enjoyed the amplest means of being correctly informed, is to us certainly matter of unfeigned astonishment. Above all, that Dr. Scott should be the man against whom such representations and arguments are directed, is entirely inexplicable. During thirty years, the doctrinal principles of that venerable man had been placed in the strongest light before the public, in his numerous publications. In his *Remarks on Tomlin's Refutation of Calvinism*, especially, which were published full ten years before this *Critique* of Dr. Heber was prepared, he has given at great length, not only his own views, but those of the large and respectable party which he represented, in the English Church. How utterly repugnant they are to the representations given by Dr. Heber above, will appear from the following extracts.

1. *Irresistible grace*. "Modern Calvinists avoid the use of the word irresistible, as exceptionable, and not scriptural." I. 92. "We disclaim both the words (compulsory and irresistible) and the ideas." I. 137.

2. *Man's difficulty in avoiding sin*. "In the judgment of those who most strenuously maintain it, this does not arise from any *natural* inability, (such as disables a lame man from running swiftly,

or a very poor man from relieving the wants of the afflicted,) but from a *moral* inability ; even as a very covetous rich man cannot find it in his heart to be liberal ; or a very slothful man cannot find it in his heart to be industrious." I. 7. "Man is a *free agent*, and therefore, responsible for his conduct : but fallen man, as left to himself is so absolutely the *slave* of sin, that his will never is free from the bondage of avarice, ambition, sensual and worldly desires or malignant passions : above all, it is totally averse to true holiness. In *this* sense it is not free : and this is the *only* sense in which well informed Calvinists ever denied the freedom of the will, as will appear most conclusively from the writings of the reformers, and of Calvin himself, in the course of this work." I. 9, 10. Now we need not ask, whether Dr. Heber would say of a rebellious child, that he was "punished for actions which he could not *help* committing." As to applying the *term* inability to a strong controlling *aversion* of this kind, that is a mere dispute about words. It is so applied in every language, and our Savior has authorized the application when he says at one time, "Ye *will* not come to me that ye might have life," and at another, "no man *can* come unto me except the Father draw him."

3. *Man's want of power to accept the conditions of salvation*, in the exercise of faith. "None of us suppose that God has proposed *impossible* conditions, which they to whom they are proposed have no *power* to accept or refuse. We have, by nature both power and inclination to refuse, and nothing is wanting but a *willing* mind to accept them." I. 90. "We consider fallen man as wanting no *capacity* for embracing the gospel ; but a disposition or willing mind." II. 147. And yet Dr. Heber argues against Scott, as maintaining, that "the greater part have no *power* to believe *whatever*."

4. *Supralapsarian decree*. "That God created man *for the purpose* of his being eternally miserable, exclusive of his foreseen wickedness, and this to promote his own glory, would indeed be a dreadful assertion." "Even in the decrees of the Synod of Dort, which are peculiarly obnoxious, those who are secluded from saving grace are considered not merely as *creatures*, but as *sinner*s. But supposing, that even Calvin and other eminent persons clogged their doctrines with sentiments which we avowedly consider as unscriptural, are these sentiments overcharged and distorted to be imputed to the very persons who disown them, merely because in the grand outline of their creed they coincide with those eminent men ? II. 148-9.

Even if Dr. Heber were living, we could not find it in our hearts to add one word of comment on such treatment of an opponent as this : and now that he is dead, and is united with that

opponent, we trust, in one song of praise to the *distinguishing* grace of God, "not unto us, but unto thy name give all the glory," we can only lament, that his friends should have placed on record, a document of this nature. Most willingly should we have avoided any allusion to this painful subject, had we not felt it to be our bounden duty, to point out in the case of this distinguished individual, the manner in which the doctrines of grace are almost uniformly misrepresented by their opponents. Those doctrines may all be reduced to a very simple statement—viz. that in the great moral change, by which men pass from death to life, it is God, and not the individual, who "maketh us to differ," that what God thus does he always *intended* to do; and that wherever he has begun a good work in the soul, he will *carry it on* unto the day of Christ. These are plain facts, revealed to us in the scriptures with such clearness and variety of statement, as to render it impossible, we believe, for all the ingenuity of man ever to set them aside. How then are they met by their opponents? By representing them to be maintained by Calvinists, *to the destruction of free-agency*. But there is not a Calvinist on earth, who would not utterly deny, that he ever held these doctrines in any such a sense as this. We are perfectly aware, that erroneous philosophical theories have been often brought forward by Calvinists, to support the doctrines in question. Let such theories be exposed and confuted. Let them be shown, if the fact is so, to be self-contradictory, absurd, or inconsistent with the first principles of moral consciousness. But let not *theory* on this subject be confounded with the *doctrine*, the *ultimate fact*, in which Calvinism consists. That fact is, that in the affair of our salvation, "it is not of him that willeth nor of him that runneth, but of God who sheweth mercy,"—that "known unto God are all his works from the foundation of the world,"—that "though the righteous fall, he shall not utterly be cast down, for the Lord upholdeth him with his hand." Now who will undertake to prove that God, the Father of spirits, cannot so act upon the minds of men, as to secure these results, without encroaching on the entire freedom of the will? As to the *mode* of this operation, Calvinists claim to know nothing. But they uniformly affirm that it implies no compulsion, no want of power to the contrary act, no subversion of the established laws of moral action, nothing which dispenses with the most strenuous effort on the part of the man himself, at every stage of the process. They maintain simply as a revealed fact, that men always are "willing in the day of God's power."

All Dr. Heber's frightful deductions from the system he opposes, rest on one supposition, viz. that calvinists deny men to be free, moral agents in *themselves* considered, aside from imparted grace. If they did so, all his conclusions would follow--the system would indeed

be execrable. But they maintain the very contrary. They affirm that he who has an understanding to perceive, a moral sense to feel, and a will to choose, is, from the very constitution of his mind, a free, moral agent. Whatever may be the aversion of such a being to his duty, he has all the power requisite for its performance. Any one who can do wrong, can also do right. The strength of *aversion* to his duty, in such a being, is therefore the exact measure of his guilt; and if any individuals of such a race receive the gracious influences of the Spirit, to subdue that aversion, what injury is done to others, if they are left to themselves? Do they perish, as Dr. Heber pretends, because they "cannot help it?" Are they under any fatal necessity of sinning? Every man's consciousness answers, No. The so much reviled doctrine of reprobation then amounts simply to this, that when God has provided an atonement for all, when he has endowed all with a full capacity to accept it and be saved in the exercise of their *own* powers; he has not seen fit to go farther and subdue the hearts of *all* by his grace, but *leaves a part of mankind to follow their own free choice*. No one surely can object to such a doctrine, without "replying against God." Let those then who think with Dr. Heber, prove if they can, that men are not moral agents in themselves considered, aside from imparted grace. We have seen this asserted a hundred times, but we have never seen any attempt to prove it. Let it be proved, and the refutation of Calvinism is complete. But let not Calvinists be charged with maintaining a principle, which even their opponents do not attempt to support by argument. Yet nearly all the opposition to Calvinism like that of Dr. H. turns on this one point.

The book we are noticing includes a number of poems said to be before unpublished. Some of these are meritorious productions, the effusions of an elegant and not unpoetic mind. Some of his lighter pieces possess much grace and playfulness. Many accomplished scholars, we know, have indited poetry, and sometimes good poetry. Addison, Johnson, and others distinguished in English literature, wrote poetry, because they could write any thing. But Heber, we believe, was gifted with more than the mere scholar's ability to compose in verse. He possesses a true poetic vein, and had he chosen to devote himself to the cultivation of the art he would, we think, have attained to a distinguished rank. But he seems to have made it an object of secondary attention only, and it is observable that hardly any of his extended attempts were completed. We think indeed that his genius was better suited to short effusions of tenderness than to protracted efforts.

In a volume of his poems published two or three years since, which we have examined in connection with the work under re-

view, are to be found some of the best poetic specimens he has left. We have already referred to his celebrated Missionary Hymn. Here the "*decies repetita placebunt*" of the great Roman teacher of the art, more than applies. Repeated a thousand times it delights us. This beautiful piece will go down to the millennium—that consummation for which it excites us to labor; and its use and its fame will be circumscribed only, as it shall be itself, by enlivening the devotions of christians, a means of hastening on that blessed day. In the volume here spoken of, his hymns written for the weekly church service of the year, are in general very appropriate and pleasing productions—chaste and simple in language, and pious in sentiment. We can only refer to two or three, as possessing more than ordinary merit; as for instance, the hymn for the third Sunday in Advent, "O, Savior, is thy promise fled," also that for the first Sunday after Epiphany, "By cool Siloam's shady rill," and that for the fifth Sunday in Lent, "O thou whom neither time nor space."

As a writer of letters, if we may judge from the biographical work before us, bishop Heber must have been eminently successful. Those that his widow has here selected, are certainly warm and elegant effusions of the heart, and constitute an important addition to the mass of similar productions, to which the reading public have been treated in modern times, from the pens of scholars. They are occasionally serious, oftener moderately playful; and throughout the whole, show the writer to have enjoyed an habitually contented, cheerful, and even temper. Among his lively allusions to his own literary and clerical labors, to books, authors, scenery, passing events, domestic cares, and benevolent movements,—the scholar, the man of the world, and the christian, will find the materials of rich and varied gratification. One thing has struck us very agreeably while tracing the biography of Heber, in his correspondence, and the same thing may perhaps be more prominently suggested in some other recent works of the kind—and that is,—the light which is thrown on the origin, and early unobserved progress of some of the wonderful christian enterprises of modern times. These as they come before the public are usually seen in their results—as matured and completed. But in such communications, we see them in their incipency and weakness. We learn much of that which was done out of the reach of the public eye. With books of this kind in our hands, we can sit at our firesides, and learn the springs of these heavenly designs—the anxieties of the first movers—and the contingencies on which their operations turned, or rather the providences by which they were shaped. We learn the feelings of different distinguished men respecting them—the zeal of some, the caution of others—the timidity, doubts,

fears, and hopes which attended such new and untried modes of doing good.

The more extended prose writings of bishop Heber, such as his various journals of travels and his sermons, we have not designed particularly to notice on this occasion. We would remark, however, that the former have excited a strong interest in the public mind, and been extensively perused, and that his sermons—those preached in England at Lincoln's Inn,* are polished, elegant, and learned productions. The train of reasoning in them is generally connected and clear—many single representations are, we think, striking. But though rich in thought, and sometimes instructive and impressive, they were designed for a particular class of hearers, possessing a fastidious character, and on this account, as well as from the nature of the topics, they cannot promise extensive or general utility. As a preacher he seems to have been highly popular and acceptable. With a portion of his theology, as our readers see we have little agreement; we regret his errors, and believe that but for them, he would have effected a much greater amount of good. Should it be thought that his false opinions must have been of a very harmless nature, connected as they confessedly were with so much worth of character, and so much activity in the cause of religion, as bishop Heber manifested, it is to be observed that these results may have taken place in spite of his doctrinal incorrectness—that they may have proceeded only from the truth which he held in common with other christians—and might have been still greater, purer, and more heavenly, had there existed no debasing intermixture of error. Bishop Heber doubtless presented an instance of a man, whose natural amiableness and sweetness of temper, covered, in a great measure, the offensive points of belief which he held; and as he did not embrace *much* that was offensive, little could be wanting towards procuring for him, if not decided universal esteem, yet what may be appropriately called, an almost unbounded popularity.

No comparison could be made, for example, as to natural disposition, between Heber and Scott. That religion softened the rough temper of the latter, only shows its power over our moral constitution under the most unfavorable circumstances. Connected with the natural loveliness of Heber's disposition, it might, in its highest and purest exercises, have made him another apostle John, or archbishop Leighton.

* His Sermons in India and a volume of Parochial Sermons have since appeared.

ART. V.—SEAMEN'S FRIEND SOCIETY.

Seamen's Devotional Assistant, and Mariner's Hymns. By JOSHUA LEAVITT. General Agent of the American Seamen's Friend Society. New York, published by the Society. 1830. price 37 1-2 cents.

THIS is the most valuable collection of hymns, which has ever fallen under our notice. The excellent editor has very properly felt, that the religious exercises of seamen ought not to be conducted in a language peculiar to themselves; and has therefore given us in this work, a selection of devotional exercises in verse, which is admirably adapted to the use of all classes of christians. The hymns (six hundred and twenty in number) are all short, and are selected with much taste and judgment. Many of them are derived from sources, which are new to the generality of christians in this country, particularly the German Lutheran collection, and a recent work of Mr. Montgomery. While we rejoice to see such a work put into the hands of our seamen, we should regret to see its advantages confined to that class alone. We would, therefore suggest the expediency of printing an edition of the work, for general use, with a title somewhat altered in accordance with such a design. At the price of 37 1-2 cents, it would be considerably cheaper than any similar collection now before the public; and would be excellently adapted to the use of private religious meetings at the present day.

To the hymn-book are appended prayers for divine worship on the sabbath, and devotional exercises for every day in the week. Though every christian must conduct his secret devotions chiefly in the language of his own heart, still we think these forms are peculiarly appropriate in a work designed for seamen. As a class they especially need assistance of this kind, particularly in conducting social worship to which few of them have been accustomed. The prayers are chiefly compiled from those excellent forms which are furnished by the book of Common Prayer.

We turn now from this work designed for the benefit of seamen, to consider the efforts which have been made for the benefit of this interesting class of men.

It is one of the striking circumstances foretold concerning the church in her final prosperity, that she shall be called "sought out." And the present generation has witnessed the establishment of a wonderful variety of exhibitions, designed for this purpose, to search out and remedy the condition of various portions of the human family. In this way the state of our fellow-men becomes known, and christian sympathy is awakened towards those who are without God. We thus learn the varied forms in which the god

of this world enslaves his willing servants, and the varied misery to which that ignoble servitude leads. Prayer is thus excited, and christians are aroused to efforts for the removal of evils so multiplied and dreadful. And what is more, by such investigations they learn to modify their efforts according to the actual circumstances of the several classes and conditions of men. The gospel is indeed the only effectual remedy for all these forms of evil. No other application can reach the root of the mischief. All applications for human improvement, for the reform of evils, or for the permanent removal of sin and woe, are of course ineffectual, unless the preaching of the gospel, in "demonstration of the Spirit and with power," forms the leading feature in the plan.

Among the various classes of sufferers whose state has been thus "sought out," there is, perhaps, no one which possesses more points of interest than the seamen of a great commercial country. We include in this class, the whole body of men employed in navigation, both on the ocean and inland. Their romantic courage, their unmeasured generosity, their perpetual vicissitudes and fearful dangers, are among the things which impart a peculiar charm to every thing that relates to sailors. And no small measure of this feeling is awakened in the mind, at the contemplation of measures designed for bringing these hardy sons of the ocean under subjection to the gospel of Jesus Christ. The very idea of a converted sailor, bringing all his fearlessness and his frankness to the feet of Jesus, is one which can hardly be contemplated without deep emotion. It is with no ordinary feelings, therefore, that we have seen, within a few years, an institution for the general benefit of seamen springing into existence, and taking its place at once among our national societies of benevolence. Judging others in this respect by ourselves, we have presumed that it would not be uninteresting to our readers to receive a brief account of the movements which have been made for the benefit of seamen, with their happy results.

The first systematic effort to promote the moral welfare of seamen, so far as we have any knowledge, was by "The Bible Society," which was formed in London in 1780, chiefly through the exertions of that eminent philanthropist, John Thornton, Esq. This was for many years the only society whose *sole* object was the dissemination of bibles. In 1804, in consequence of the formation of the British and Foreign Bible Society, this one took the name of the "Naval and Military Bible Society." It has always been, and still is an efficient institution. Thus was the seamen's cause at the foundation of all our modern plans for the diffusion of the word of God.

Although much good was doubtless achieved by the bibles given,

yet the great instrument of usefulness to sinful men is a living ministry. Towards this there was no regular movement till the year 1814. Before this time, God had been preparing the way by bringing to the saving knowledge of the truth a considerable number of scattered individuals, both in the British and the American marine. Among these it is proper to mention particularly the names of Richard Marks and George C. Smith of the British navy, Richard Dale of Philadelphia, and Christopher Prince of New-York.

Mr. Marks was a lieutenant, and was in the battle of Trafalgar, on board the *Conqueror*. It having pleased God to awaken him by his grace, to the subject of religion, he began in 1809 to hold prayer meetings with a few seamen in the *wings* of the ship. An interesting account of various incidents growing out of this movement, may be found in that valuable little work by Mr. M. called the *Retrospect*. Not long after this, he quitted the navy and became a clergyman of the church of England. He has for many years been rector of Great Missenden in Buckinghamshire. He has retained his concern for the spiritual welfare of seamen, and has exerted a very important influence in promoting various movements for their benefit.

Mr. Smith was an under officer in the British navy. After he became a christian, he entered the ministry among the Baptists, and was settled in Penzance, Cornwall, where he remained until the prospect of doing good to his seafaring brethen drew him to London, where he is now minister of the mariner's church in Wellclose square, and Secretary of the British and Foreign Seamen's Friend Society, and is likewise engaged in promoting many other schemes for overthrowing the kingdom of darkness.

Commodore Dale was a much respected officer in the American navy during the revolutionary war. He took an early interest in every attempt for the benefit of seamen, and was one of the trustees of the Philadelphia Mariner's Church, till his death in 1826. His meekness and integrity, joined to a sound judgment and pure benevolence, rendered him a great blessing to this cause.

Capt. Prince commanded a ship in the merchant service for many years. Possessing a warm heart and devoted piety, he entered into measures for promoting the gospel among seamen, at once and with all his soul. No one who has seen him at a Bethel meeting, will ever forget his prayers. He still lives at an advanced age, to rejoice in the advancing prosperity of that cause, to which, in its weakest state, his labors were so effectually directed.

The present exertions for the salvation of seamen owe their origin to a prayer meeting on the river Thames, which was held on

board the *Friendship*, Capt. Simpson, a collier brig from Shields. This was the 22d day of June, 1814. Zebulon Rogers, a Wesleyan Methodist, has the honor of being the pioneer in the cause of Christ among seamen. The following account given by him of the circumstances, is marked with such peculiar simplicity, that we have thought proper to copy it in the note below.*

The meetings were chiefly confined to the *Friendship*, and consequently were held only at such times as she was in the Thames, till 1816, when the idea was conceived of making meetings for prayer general, on board of all ships that could be obtained. Soon after, Mr. Jennings, a local preacher, established a sailor's class-meeting. The subsequent winter a lantern was hoisted at the mast-head, as a signal to denote the ship where prayer meetings were to be held. As the days lengthened in 1817, and the lantern became useless, Mr. R. was led to devise the Bethel flag, which was first hoisted on the 23d of March, 1817, on board the collier brig *Zephyr*, Capt. Hindulph. In June of that year, Mr. Smith came to London, and was invited by a friend to go on board and witness one of these meetings. Having been a sailor, and having also employed many private efforts to promote religion among seamen, he was much affected by what he saw and heard. He preached to them the next night, and soon after thought of the plan of having a ship fitted up, as a floating chapel, devoted to meetings for sailors. This was carried into effect the next year, and Mr. Smith preached on board during the summers of 1818 and 1819, with great success. It is estimated that at least fifteen thousand seamen became pious in the coal trade alone. Mr. Smith commenced a sailor's magazine in January 1820, and soon had the pleasure of seeing numerous undertakings for the benefit of seamen in almost every considerable port in the kingdom.

*" Having had to labor much under strong convictions for sin during some months, and but little attention being paid me by professing christians, from that day to the present, I have endeavored to assist any persons I saw under similar religious impressions. In 1814, I beheld a person weeping under a sermon in the Wesleyan Methodist chapel, at Silver-street Rotherhithe. When the service was concluded I went to the chapel door, and spoke to him with much tenderness and sympathy, taking him by the hand. I found his name was Capt. Simpson, of the *Friendship* brig. We soon became well acquainted together; and I took him to our class meeting. He came on shore and invited me on board his vessel, the next voyage. I asked him if he thought his people would come into the cabin and let me pray with him. The captain said 'go and ask them.' I went to the half deck and told them they were all wanted in the cabin. 'Cabin, sir,' they said with surprise. 'Yes all of you.' They all came, I read and prayed with them, and got the captain to pray also. We had one more meeting that voyage; and the next voyage, when he came up, we had another. The *Hammond* brig lay at the *Friendship's* quarter, and the captain invited me on board of her to hold a meeting. From that time I went on until now." Z R.

Owing to some dissatisfaction, Mr. Smith afterwards withdrew from the floating chapel, formed a new society, and opened a mariner's church on shore. In 1827, he also commenced the "New Sailor's Magazine." An English floating church has since been opened on the Thames, connected with the established church. The three societies are now zealously extending their operations, in various ways, to bring the gospel to bear upon the whole of the immense mass of people connected with navigation upon the river Thames. The old Bethel Union keep up a large number of prayer meetings on board of vessels afloat, besides maintaining stated services in their floating chapel. The Episcopal society maintain their floating church, and publish a small periodical.

The British and Foreign Seamen's Friend Society, of which the indefatigable G. C. Smith is secretary, have, besides the Mariner's church, a considerable number of stations along the shore, where prayer meetings are held, and the gospel is preached to mariners. They are also extending their labors among boatmen on the numerous canals, and among the soldiers stationed in and near the city of London. All these institutions appear to be doing much good, and are gaining, as they manifestly deserve, increased confidence and esteem with the pious and benevolent. Efforts are also made for taking up the orphan children of seamen, and for relieving the temporal distress, which grows up among them, partly out of their prevalent vices, and partly out of the numerous shipwrecks that take place around the island of Great Britain.

We have not the means of giving a statement of all the British ports, where systematic measures have been adopted to bring seamen under the influence of the gospel. In Bristol there are two places of worship, in Liverpool two, in Dublin, Leith, Greenock, Hull, Sunderland, Newcastle upon Tyne, Brighton, and probably in several others, there are chapels for seamen.

A very interesting feature in the efforts made by British christians for the salvation of seamen, is found in the number and rank of the naval officers, who have taken a decided and active part in them. With Lord Gambier at their head, we find a numerous body of admirals, post-captains, lieutenants, and other officers enlisted in these institutions, and bringing to their aid, not merely the influence of rank and office, but the more valuable cooperation of a devoted heart, a sound judgment, a cultivated mind, and the invaluable habit of doing every thing in its season, which the nature of sea service is admirably calculated to produce.

The efforts to do good evangelically among seamen in this country, originated in New-York, before publicity was given to the operations on the Thames, and without any knowledge of what was doing elsewhere. They began in the year 1816. As far as we

can ascertain, the first prayer meeting designed particularly for sailors was held in a house at the corner of Old-slip and Front-street. Some zealous members of the Brick Presbyterian church had been in the habit of holding prayer meetings in different houses in Water-street, which began to be attended by keepers of sailors' boarding houses, and some of their lodgers, and at length it occurred to these brethren to hold a prayer meeting specifically for sailors. They excited interest, and ere long engaged the aid of brethren in other churches and denominations.

In December, 1816, the plan was determined on, of building a Mariner's church in New-York, and a committee was appointed to receive donations for this purpose. The way however did not seem to be quite prepared for such an object; but a sympathy had begun to be kindled in behalf of long neglected seamen, which could not lie wholly idle. The Mariner's Bible Society of New-York was formed, March 14th, 1817; and early efforts were made to obtain the support of sea-faring men, in the dissemination of bibles, and also to promote the establishment of similar societies elsewhere. The Rev. Ward Stafford performed several journeys to awaken public attention, and formed marine bible societies in New-Haven, Portland, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and elsewhere.

Soon after, as the enterprise of erecting a church at New-York still lingered, the Marine Missionary Society was formed, and Mr. Stafford was employed to preach to seamen as he could get opportunity. His first meeting was held in a small school room in James-st. in 1818. In May, the society for establishing a mariner's church, was definitely organized, with the name of "The Society for Promoting the Gospel among Seamen in the Port of New-York." They immediately proceeded to their work, of providing a place of worship for seamen.

On the 4th day of June, 1820, this church was dedicated to the worship of the Almighty; and the affecting services of that day are still fresh in the memory of many who are now present. For the first time, the novelty was presented to the world, of a church knowing no sectarian denomination; and in consonance with that character, the dedication services were performed by ministers of the Episcopal, Presbyterian, and Methodist churches. The numerous seamen who were present, discovered a suitable feeling, and the whole assembly seemed deeply affected by this display of liberal and enlarged benevolence, directed to a most deserving, but long neglected class of men. The opening of the Mariner's Church was followed at once by a general attendance on the part of seamen, and a more general interest in their favor on the part of landmen. For some time after the occupation of the church, however, it was necessary to seek out seamen at their lodgings and in the streets; to point out to some the way, and to persuade others to attend the ministrations of the sanctuary. Now, without any special exertion, the church is well filled, and often to overflowing. The fame of this temple has gone forth throughout our land, and

throughout the world; and the weather-beaten sailor returns to it from his distant wanderings, as to his only resting place—his only semblance of a home. Many, we trust, have here found that rest which relieves “the weary and heavy laden,” and some, we hope, will here secure that final rest—that enduring haven—which remains for the people of God.*

Mr. Stafford was succeeded by the Rev. John Truair, who was followed by Rev. Henry Chase, the present highly acceptable and useful minister of the church.

In 1821 the New-York Bethel Union was formed, in aid of the Port Society, for the express purpose of conducting prayer meetings on ship-board, as is done on the Thames.

On Friday, the 22d June, 1821, for the first time in America, the Bethel Flag, (a present from the London Bethel Union to the Port of New-York Society,) was hoisted at the mast-head of the ship *Cadmus*, Capt. Whitlock, lying at the Pine-street wharf.

In the morning of the day, the committee were apprehensive that they should have no hearers. The experiment here was novel—the issue was by many considered doubtful. They were told by several, who are “wise in worldly matters,” that a guard of constables would be necessary to preserve order. At first it was thought advisable to hold the meetings in the cabin to prevent the possibility of disturbance. On arriving at the vessel, the deck was found cleared, an awning stretched, and all necessary preparations for holding the meeting there. At 3 o'clock the President opened the meeting, by stating the object and plans of the society, and inviting the co-operation of captains and their crews in promoting the benevolent designs of the society.

The Mariners' (107) Psalm was sung with great animation and feeling, and seamen were immediately seen pressing in from all quarters. After prayer by an aged sea captain, Dr. Spring addressed the seamen—other appropriate exercises followed. The vessel and wharf were crowded—order and solemnity prevailed throughout—every ear was open, every eye was fixed. Tracts were distributed among the seamen, who received them with gratitude. Every circumstance was calculated to inspire the Board with courage and confidence to go forward.†

On the 21st of August, a Bethel meeting was held on board the U. S. ship *Franklin* 74, Commodore Stewart, lying off the Battery about to depart on a long cruise. A congregation, consisting principally of seamen, about eight hundred in number, were present. Dr. Spring, of New-York, Dr. Stoughton and Rev. J. Eastburn, of Philadelphia, conducted the exercises. The utmost decorum and solemnity prevailed. Several of the seamen came up to Mr. Eastburn and thanked him for the many “good things he had told them.” The crew were affectionately commended to the protection and mercy of that gracious Being who hath provided a Savior for them, and who was inviting them by the sweetest allurements of his love, to the everlasting enjoyment of his rest. The Board, in behalf of themselves, the reverend clergy, and citizens who attended, embrace this opportunity of expressing their grateful feelings to Commodore Stewart and his officers, for their politeness and attention to them on this interesting occasion.†

* Report at tenth anniversary of the Society.

† First Report of the New-York Bethel Union.

We have been thus minute in our details concerning the early movements in this great enterprise of converting the maritime world to the service of Jesus Christ, both because the small beginnings of an important design are always interesting, and because the movements now recorded have served, in some degree, as the models of other operations. Our limits require us to be brief in regard to others.

The New-York Mariner's Church, was the first place of worship on shore for seamen, and the success of the experiment has decided the question in favor of a location on land. The extent to which the example has been followed, may be seen from the following tabular view of the churches now in being, with the names of their present ministers.

Places.	When opened.	Ministers.
New-York,	June 4, 1820.	Rev. Henry Chase.
Charleston,	1823.	Rev. Joseph Brown.
Philadelphia,	Oct. 16, 1824.	Rev. Alfred H. Dashiell.
London,	Dec. 1825.	Rev. G. C. Smith.
Baltimore,	Nov. 1826.	Rev. Stephen Williams.
Boston, (Meth'st.)	Nov. 1828.	Rev. Edward T. Taylor.
Portland,	June 15, 1829.	Rev. Robert Blake.
New-Orleans,	Dec. 1829.	Rev. Gurdon Winslow.
Boston,	Jan. 1, 1830.	Rev. Jonathan Greenleaf.
Savannah,	Not built.	Rev. John Baker.
New-London,	Not built.	Rev. J. Davie.

The American seamen's Friend Society arose out of the exigencies of the several local institutions. It was found, that the moral interests of seamen had been so long neglected, and that sailors as a body, had become so far alienated from the ordinary influences of society, as to render necessary the employment of several other expedients, auxiliary to the simple preaching of the gospel. Register offices would enable the sailor to avail himself of the advantages of a good character, if his conduct merited it. Other measures were contemplated, such as the establishment of libraries, reading rooms, and museums, as safe places of resort for the leisure hours of the seamen ashore; and nautical schools, where young sailors could be qualified for the highest honors of their profession, etc. But the great point to be aimed at, was a reformation in the condition and character of sailor boarding houses. To show the necessity of a movement on this subject, we subjoin, in a note, the testimony of one whose authority will have weight.*

* Relieved by receiving his 50, 100, 200, or 300 dollars in hand, and his captain's signature, (which he closely scrutinizes, to be certain all is right,) to his printed discharge—relieved thus in a moment after signing the purser's books,

In order to remedy these evils, it was seen that a concert of action among the different seaports was indispensable, and that a general society would be the best bond of union. The national society was therefore formed, on the 11th of January, 1826. The Rev. John Truair who had been the preacher in New-York, was employed as agent of the society, and visited several southern ports. He also prepared a powerful address to the public, entitled "A Call from the Ocean." The thrilling appeals of this address produced a new interest in behalf of seamen, and an earnest desire was awakened in the bosoms of the benevolent, that effectual measures should be taken to promote the moral welfare of this important and long neglected portion of our fellow citizens.

In consequence of Mr. Truair's retirement, however, the society

from the trammels of discipline, and the labor and night watching of a boisterous profession—a profession of hardship and self-denial—his countenance suddenly assumes an expression of hilarity never before observed in it, which by the time he has taken an affectionate leave of his mess and favorite shipmates, and his respected officers, savors a little, as he passes to the gangway, of pride and hauteur. By the time he has got fairly into the boat which is to take him on shore to get drunk, maltreated, beaten, cheated, robbed, and sick,—this pride, this joyous expression, has a smack of downright contempt for all he has just left behind him. In an hour he is "swipy," and swaggering: in another, half-seas over, turbulent, obstreperous, pugnacious—swearing by blood and wounds, and every other shocking oath, vengeance and retribution. He now meets another discharged man, or a liberty man, the first nearly as bad as himself, but the latter preserving his respect for his ship and officers—insists on treating them. In one hour more he swills many a dram of blue ruin, or his delicious grog, gets beastly drunk, fights with his messmates, falls down and hurts himself, is cuffed and robbed by cowardly, unfeeling, cheating landlords, and then ensues blue-ruin in earnest. The next day sufficiently sobered to walk, he renews the preceding excesses with increased inability to bear them; and so on day after day in one continued wassail, until his money and health and clothes are gone! He is now when sober enough, (by loss of money and credit to get more grog,) led like a culprit or bad child, by his avaricious landlord, to re-ship for the service. His advance is received by the lucre-loving wretch in whose gripe and debt he is, and who is his security for being forthcoming at the expiration of his liberty, and for his legally required quantity of clothing. During this time the sailor is in the clutches of this faithless pander to his vices and his temporary ruin, the latter doles out to him just a sufficiency of money, daily, to make him and his female favorites drunk: and thus the recruit is surrendered to the receiving vessel in that awful state of nervous and muscular exhaustion known in the navy by the expressive epithet, the horrors; and by medical men, by that of "mania à potu," or a state near akin to it!! In all this there is no caricature. I appeal to all recruiting and experienced officers, medical or sea, whether it be not a faithful picture of his pitiable situation. Who can want feeling for the poor creature, that has known him, or any other true sailor without money, and after he has been disciplined! Who can want sympathy for his sufferings! Who cannot see how much in need he now is, of physical comforts and medical attendance."

See a valuable little work recently published by Dr. W. P. C. Barton of Philadelphia entitled "Hints to Naval Officers cruising in the West Indies, a work which we cheerfully recommend to all whom it may concern, as full of instruction.

remained nearly inactive for two years. In 1828, it was reorganized, a permanent agent was engaged, and the seaman's cause took its place among the sisterhood of our benevolent societies.

Since that time the publication of the *Sailor's Magazine*,* has brought the various institutions for seamen more distinctly before the community, and therefore it is less needful for us to be particular in giving a history of all the steps that have been taken, in giving to the cause its present degree of success and importance.

We find that this society has already secured the establishment of reformed boarding houses in most of our principal seaports; so that now a sailor who is disposed to find a decent home, need not be disappointed. In these places he will find no ardent spirit, no gambling, no swaggering swearers, no vile associates, no fraudulent overreaching land sharks to cheat him of his hard earnings, and then turn him adrift like a worn out horse, to wander and starve.

The remaining difficulty in regard to boarding houses, is to induce seamen to occupy those which are safe and wholesome. And here the friends of the sailor must not be disappointed if their progress should be slow. They will consider how long sailors have been accustomed to regard a season of dissipation as the natural termination of their voyage of privations and toils, and how many influences of habit, old associates, interested landlords, profane and irreligious shipmasters and owners, will be set at work to keep seamen away from the paths of peace. But such an enterprise must share in the favorable regards of a benevolent God, and in the end, if only persevered in, must be successful.

We also find from the *Magazine*, that a beginning has been made in regard to saving's banks for seamen. The one established in New-York, under a charter from the legislature, has already received deposits amounting to the noble sum of sixty thousand dollars. Register offices are also beginning to be opened, and when established in all our ports, they will have a great influence in leading seamen to respect themselves, and to appreciate the value of character. The temperance reformation has obtained a truly wonderful hold at sea, and promises to do much towards disenthraling the mariner from the bondage of sin.

Another important result of the national society has doubtless been a great increase of zeal and efficiency in the various seaports, in establishing their own local institutions. Men are made to feel the importance of efforts for saving the souls of seamen. The

* This valuable magazine is published monthly, at \$1.50 per annum, each number consisting of 32 pages 8vo. It is the sole property of the society, and is warmly recommended to the patronage of our readers.

cause assumes a greater magnitude. Those who are faint-hearted are encouraged to try. Union gives strength. A knowledge that others are doing the same thing is a powerful stimulus. So that we may now believe the time to be near at hand, when every seaport in our country shall consider an efficient Bethel Union, or Seamen's Friend Society, as much a matter of necessity as a custom house.

Nor is this happy influence of the national society confined to the seaboard. We find them turning their attention also to those who are employed upon our internal waters. In consequence of the labors of their agent, Mr. Winslow, the last season, a meeting was held of delegates from the various towns on the great western canal, and a Boatman's Friend Society was established. The Western Seamen's Friend Society was also formed at Cleaveland, to occupy Lake Erie and the upper lakes and the Ohio canal. Through the instrumentality of Lieut. Page, U. S. N. Bethel Unions were established at several places on the Ohio river. Energetic measures were also adopted on Lake Ontario, and the Bethel flag was hoisted at Oswego, and carried through the Welland canal to Lake Erie. These decisive movements, taken in connection with the wonderful revivals that are now in progress along these great thoroughfares, call loudly upon us to acknowledge the wisdom and goodness of God, in raising up such a barrier against the flood of iniquity, which we feared they would be the instruments of bringing in upon us. We ought to feel, that if the friends of the Redeemer do their duty, God will at once make all canals and rail roads, and navigable rivers a highway for the ransomed of the Lord to come to Zion.

The establishment of the national society has also opened another highly important field of usefulness among seamen. We refer to the establishment of chaplaincies for our seamen when abroad.

The interesting Canton mission is to be regarded by all the friends of seamen, as the beginning of a series of similar enterprises, to be prosecuted from time to time, as suitable men can be procured, and extended with our rapidly growing commerce, until every important port, which does not maintain Bethel institutions of its own, shall have its preacher sent out from this or some kindred society. Considering how small a portion of their time seamen remain within reach of the means of grace at home, it seems a matter of obvious and urgent necessity that provision should be made to have the ministry of the gospel meet them abroad at every port, and by continual entreaties bring them to the love of Jesus. We rejoice, therefore, to perceive that, besides the mission of Mr. Abeel to Canton, so interesting, not only from the character of the individual who was sent, but from its connecting the seamen's cause

with the first efforts of the American churches towards the conversion of the vast empire of China; the Seamen's Friend Society contemplate the immediate location of a chaplain at the port of Honolulu in the Sandwich islands, and another at Smyrna in the Mediterranean. We trust they will be guided to the selection of judicious and faithful men for these important out-posts of Zion. And we recommend them to make persevering inquiries to ascertain the most advantageous ports for marine chaplains, on our southern continent and in the West Indies.

We do not regard the sending a preacher to New-Orleans in the same light with those mentioned above. No man can doubt, that it is of the utmost importance to have a faithful man there to preach to seamen. But we desire that christians will not regard New-Orleans any longer in the light of a *foreign* port. We think this feeling has already prevailed too long. And we have reason to believe, that the hearts of good people there have been often grieved to find themselves so much looked upon in the light of strangers and foreigners. They are our bone and our flesh. And in the increasing liberality of many in New-Orleans, and their systematic devotion of themselves to the cause of benevolence, as well as in the multiplication and increase of churches and sabbath schools, we see evident indications, that God is preparing to make that city as important in his kingdom, as it is already in the commercial world.

Our brethren there need aid and encouragement a little longer. We hope they will be enabled soon to complete their mariner's church, the most magnificent and costly building of the kind in the world. They will then we trust lose no time in obtaining for themselves the permanent services of an able minister, who shall take the spiritual charge of the many thousands of sailors and boatmen, who frequent their crowded mart.

Besides opening a way for the gospel to meet the sailor at every port, it is interesting to observe, how God is providing the means to have it go with him in all its power, even while he is traversing the ocean. Not only are a large proportion of our vessels regularly supplied with bibles and tracts, and many of them with select libraries, but the hearts of pious shipmasters are much turned to the salvation of their ship's companies. The number of pious captains is rapidly increasing, thus multiplying the very instruments which all who are conversant with sailors must see to be best adapted to do them good. And almost every one who pretends to piety feels bound to maintain daily worship at sea. The remarkable manner in which these efforts have been blessed, especially during the last two years, are an indication that the set time has even now come, to favor seamen; and peculiarly encourage the faith of christians to look for some wonderful displays of divine mercy among them.

In connection with the religious privileges of seamen afloat, we see the importance of what may be done in our national vessels. The numbers that are there brought together, with the strictness of their discipline, and their long absence from the temptations of the shore, impress us with the conviction, that if proper means were used, there is no field more hopeful than in the United States navy. And accordingly, we find that the spirit of God is moving the hearts of many officers to care for the souls of those who are under their command. It might appear invidious for us to specify the names of individuals, but we are well assured that the number is very considerable of naval officers, whose rank, talents and piety entitle them to the highest christian esteem. We have no lords, nor even admirals, in our republican navy. But we have many sons of the King, who honor their celestial regeneration. We cannot, indeed make a display of gorgeous titles at our anniversaries, etc. Our having no state religion also renders it less easy to maintain certain external forms of religion. But when we see how often a form of godliness is a hindrance to its power, we are well content with the simplicity of our own institutions. There must be much more reality in the piety of a naval officer who professes religion here, than if he were obliged to partake of the sacrament twice a year on penalty of losing his commission.

The almost entire revolution which has taken place in regard to naval chaplaincies, is another interesting feature in the prospects of seamen. The time has been, at no very distant period, when it was not necessary for a chaplain to maintain the character of even ordinary moral decency. The office was almost a sinecure, or involved the duties of captain's clerk, and included no religious services whatever, except the reading of the burial service over the dead. It was sought and filled to a great extent by broken down debauchees, or by men who were ciphers in every thing but evil. We remember, when a young man of most profligate habits, who was expelled with ignominy from one of our colleges, was shortly after announced in the newspapers as a chaplain in the U. S. navy. And we have it from unquestionable authority, that the lamented Com. Macdonough, when in command on Lake Champlain was so shocked with the morals of his chaplain, that he never would call on him for any religious service whatever, deeming it a profanation to set a person of immoral habits to lead sinners to the throne of grace. There was a pious colored man on board his ship, a baptist, whom the commander used to call on to pray. Just at the critical moment before the great battle of lake Champlain, the fleet was summoned "to prayers," and the person who officiated was this colored steward.

But at the present day, we believe, no person can obtain the ap-

pointment unless he is in regular standing as a minister of some religious denomination. This reform is one of great importance, and we have been assured, that the present corps of navy chaplains are every way entitled to the respect of their shipmates and of the community. The following are their names and present stations.

Rev. James Everett,	Frigate Constellation.
" Addison Searle,	Navy Yard, New-York.
" John W. Grier,	Navy Yard, Philadelphia.
" Hervey H. Hayes,	Norfolk Station.
" John P. Turner,	Boston Navy Yard.
" Charles S. Stewart,	On leave of absence.
" William Ryland,	Washington Yard.
" I. J. Harrison,	Frigate Brandywine,
" Walter Colton,	West India Squadron,
" E. M'Laughlin,	On leave of absence.

We observe with pleasure that several attempts have been made to induce the United States government to furnish *sloops of war* with chaplains. The services of a *good* chaplain, in promoting the peace and happiness of a ship's company, are so manifestly important, that we doubt not the sentiments of the whole community would sustain our government in such a measure. We hope to see it carried into effect, and that in the selection of individuals the question will be not whether he is in want of the office for his own support or convenience, but whether he will be a *good chaplain*. In particular, no person should receive the appointment, who will not allow it to be explicitly understood, that he will cheerfully perform all his duties at sea, whenever the government shall so order. If a minister of the gospel enjoys the ease and emoluments of a chaplain at a station or yard, and when ordered to sea, resigns his commission, he inflicts a wound upon the cause of religion in the navy, deeper than would appear at first sight. It is a tremendous evil, if countenance is given to the idea in the minds of navy officers, that the chaplains are mere mercenaries, who only preach or pray because they are paid for it, and who are willing, if they can, to receive the pay and avoid the equivalent service altogether.

We had dwelt in our thoughts with much delight, upon the opening prospects before the church, when seamen shall generally obey the gospel. But we have already exceeded our limits, and must leave this part of the subject to the thoughts of our readers. We will only allude to the facilities which pious and intelligent sailors possess for spreading the gospel by means of bibles and tracts and personal conversation, in all parts of the globe. We also point to the different effects resulting from Lieut. Percival's visit to the Sandwich Islands, and the subsequent visits of captains Jones and

Finch, as showing at a glance, the power of doing good, and of doing evil, which God has placed in the hands of seamen. And we thus feel justified in avowing our conviction, that the increase of the means of grace among seamen, and the pleasing success which every where attends those means, is one of the brightest presages of the approaching millennial day.

ART. VI.—IMPORTANCE OF BEING CONFORMED TO THE SCRIPTURAL STANDARD OF CHRISTIAN CHARACTER.

It is a standing objection of infidels against christianity, and a standing theme of their reproach, that the professors of this religion are no better, and often much worse than other men. Without stopping to inquire how far the alledged fact is true, or how far it is chargeable to wilful misrepresentation, it is safe, at any rate, to deny the inference they deduce from it;—that is, that it involves a reflection on the purity and excellence of the gospel. For the gospel frowns upon all sin, and as truly in its professors as in others; and it inculcates and urges by the most powerful motives every virtue in its perfection. The tendency of all the doctrines and precepts of the bible is to form a perfect character.

Inasmuch, however, as the scriptural standard of religious character is too often lost sight of by professed christians, we shall now endeavor to present this standard distinctly before our readers, and to suggest some plain reasons why every christian should faithfully adhere to it.

One characteristic of the scriptural standard of christian character is, that it is *uniform*. If we were to judge from the conduct of many professed christians, we should suppose their rule of duty as variable as the wind. In one set of circumstances they deem it their duty perhaps to be active, and it may be that they evince much religious feeling—much regard for the salvation of men and the honor of their Redeemer; but under different circumstances you would suppose that they had entirely forgotten the fact, that they professedly belong to Christ's family. Here is an inconsistency which pervades their whole character; and however it may be with themselves, it leaves others painfully in doubt whether, after all, their supreme interest does not lie in this world.

Very different is the course which he adopts who adheres to the bible standard of duty. He is in the fear of the Lord all the day long; and through all the days of the year; and through all the years of his christian life. He is a christian in the week, as well as on the sabbath; a christian in the world as well as at the communion table; a christian in the closet and family as well as in the

prayer meeting and church ; a christian in a season of stupidity, when all around is in a state of slumber and death, as well as in a season of revival, when God's people are especially quickened, and the road to life is thronged with conscience-burdened travelers. We do not mean, that the gospel standard does not require that the conduct of christians should be varied in some respects by circumstances ; but it requires that in *all* circumstances they should be governed by a supreme regard to God's glory ; that they should act as seeing Him who is invisible.

This is also an *uncompromising* standard. The circumstances in which the christian, and especially the young christian is placed, are often peculiarly trying. He finds himself perhaps at the commencement of his christian course, and while he has yet little strength to resist temptation, in a circle of friends who take no thought for their own salvation, and who not improbably regard him as a miserable fanatic. Or if they are really convinced that he is in the right, they are yet unwilling to follow him ; and the more effectually to quiet their own consciences, they endeavor by sophistry, by flattery, and not unfrequently by ridicule, to draw him back into the same current of worldly pleasure from which perhaps he has just made his escape ; and it may be that the love of pleasure having once been his ruling passion, is the point at which he is yet the most vulnerable. Suppose they assail him in these circumstances, or suppose they treat him with neglect as if he were claiming superior merit, he must summon the fortitude of the apostle, and say as he did in difficult circumstances, "none of these things move me." If the consequence were that every friend on earth were to point at him the finger of scorn, or to greet him with cruel reproach, still the bible standard would require that he should be unyielding. The very condition on which he became a disciple was, that he should deny himself and take up the cross ; and if he thinks to serve his Master in any other way, he may well question his claim to discipleship. No doubt a strict adherence to duty will sometimes involve severe trials ; but these trials must not make him hesitate, not even for a moment. They are part of his discipline as a christian ; and if he turns his back upon them, if he makes up his mind that he will follow Christ only when he leads him in a smooth and pleasant path, he may have the christian name, but he has not the christian character.

Let no one mistake our meaning. We would not invest the christian character with gloom ; nor would we desire the christian to assume any artificial airs of sanctity, or be otherwise than cheerful in his intercourse ; nor would we intimate that in order to be faithful to his obligations, he must always adopt a course of conduct which will be offensive to the world. There is nothing in the bible to

warrant such a sentiment; on the contrary, it is the genius of the gospel that it forms a character which to every enlightened conscience, and indeed to every correct taste, appears excellent. Religion qualifies men the better to discharge the duties connected with all their relations; it throws a charm over all the intercourse of life; it hallows every social tie; and commends its possessor to the respect and confidence even of the most careless and worldly. But notwithstanding all this, it is imperative in its claims; it is, in a certain sense, exclusive in its character. Gain as much as you may of the favor of the world by yielding to sin; lose as much as you may of the world's favor by doing your duty, the sin *must* be avoided, the duty *must* be performed. If you do your duty faithfully as a christian, you need never fear the loss of the world's respect; but it will be strange if cases do not occur in which you will bring upon you the world's disapprobation. These are indeed crosses; but these you expected, if you counted the cost, when you entered on the service of your Master.

Moreover, the scriptural standard of religious character is a *perfect* standard. It is in fact nothing less than the law of God, requiring that we should love him with all the strength of our affection, and our neighbor, as ourselves. This great rule extends to the christian's conduct in every condition and every relation. From the general nature of this rule, it might seem difficult to apply it in all cases; but this difficulty is relieved by the fact that it is exhibited in the bible in its application to all the various parts of human conduct. Especially is this true, inasmuch as it is drawn out in living characters in the life of the Savior; for though he could not be in all respects a model for us, as he possessed a divine nature and fulfilled the mediatorial office, yet as a man he was tempted like as we are but without sin; he exhibited every christian grace in its perfection which is required of us, with the exception of those which are inseparable from our condition as sinners. If you would contemplate an exhibition of perfect humility, perfect love to God, perfect benevolence, perfect zeal, in one word perfect holiness of heart and life, you have it all in the character of Christ; and this character is needed for the very purpose, that it may be your model.

Such is the scriptural standard of christian character. Let every christian among our readers, see to it that he adopts this standard and no other.

This is a duty which you owe to YOURSELVES.

You owe it to your own *religious improvement*. Whatever standard of christian character may be adopted by an individual, it is almost certain that he will fall below it. If for instance, instead of taking the bible standard, you look to some christians more or less distinguished for religious feeling and action as a model, there

is every probability that you will still fall below your standard. Indeed if the individual whom you select should be deplorably lax in his conduct, and if your selection should be made with a view to keep your conscience quiet in a course of conformity to the world, it is still probable that you will be even more lax than the individual whose example you intend shall guide you. The reason is obvious. When men choose any other standard than the perfect rule of duty which the bible proposes, it is because the latter is too strict for them; and the same disposition that leads them to seek a standard in any degree accommodated to their corrupt propensities, will probably induce them to compromise with conscience for at least a deviation from that which they actually adopt. If then there is this tendency rather to fall below than to exceed our standard of christian character, surely it is due to our progress in religion, that that standard should be as high as possible.

But this is not all. If you take even the most exemplary christian for a model, you take an imperfect being,—one who is carrying about with him daily a body of sin and death. There may be much in his character that is excellent and well deserving your imitation; but whether you perceive it or not, there will certainly, so long as he is sanctified but in part, be some things that are wrong; and not improbably the good and the bad may in many instances be so blended that it will not be easy even in your own mind to separate them; and thus you may be liable to fall into sin in your endeavors to imitate what is excellent. In taking the bible standard you incur no such danger. If you keep your eye fixed upon that, your course cannot fail to be progressively holy. There is something in it, the steady contemplation of which is sure to lift the soul up towards heaven.

It is due also to your *religious comfort*, that you adopt this standard. You know that this is the right standard; the one, and the only one, which God has ordained; and that, in allowing yourself to substitute another, you disobey God's plain command. And is there nothing in this reflection that ought, that must, if your conscience is not asleep, render you unhappy? Can you think that you are looking away from Christ, who lived to set you an example that you might walk in his steps, to some poor imperfect creature like yourself, that you are shutting your eyes against the light of the sun, and hunting up rush-lights to guide you in the path to heaven;—can you think of this, and not feel convicted both of infatuation and ingratitude?

But by adopting any other standard, you forfeit your comfort in another way. You attempt to serve two masters, and Christ himself has told you that the experiment can never succeed. You try to bring down the claims of religion to meet the claims of the world; to establish a union between them which is impossible in the na-

ture of things should exist ; and you must see at once that such an attempt as this cannot consist with a high degree of comfort. It is implied in this state of mind, that there is a conflict between your inclination and conscience ; and wherever there is war, whether in the world without, or the world within, there is trouble. You wish to enjoy the pleasures of the world, but in attempting it, you cannot forget your christian obligations, and the recollection is a thorn in your breast. If you think to find comfort in religion under these circumstances, what comfort is there for you but that of thinking that you are a backslider ? So the case stands. In consequence of attempting to lower the standard of christian duty, you increase the power of a corrupt inclination on the one hand, and therefore the sting of a wakeful conscience on the other.

It is not less due to your *religious influence* that you adopt the bible standard. One grand purpose for which Christ hath redeemed you by his blood, is that you may prove yourself one of a peculiar people zealous of good works. This is one important reason why he has called you into his kingdom, and why he has required you openly to profess your faith in him,—that you may exert an influence for the salvation of souls, and the glory of his name. But need we say that just in proportion as you bring down the standard of christian character, your good influence on the cause of Christ is lessened ; not only inasmuch as your direct efforts for its advancement are less numerous and less vigorous, but because the spirituality, and of course the good effect, of your general example, suffers a proportional diminution. If you would do the most that you can for the glory of Christ, if you would act as becomes one who feels that he has been bought with a price, and that he owes every thing to the efficacy of redeeming grace, you will desire no other rule of conduct than that which the bible has prescribed for you.

It is due, moreover, to your *religious profession*, that you adopt this high standard. In making a profession of religion, you acknowledge yourself a disciple of Christ ; and of course you promise to take him as your model. In entering into covenant with him, you did not indeed promise that you would keep the whole law without offending in a single point : you did not promise that your own weakness or corruption should never betray you ; but you *did* promise, sacredly promise, that in humble reliance on God's grace, you would endeavor to walk in the footsteps of Christ, and at all times, to yield a cordial obedience to his commandments. And this promise you virtually renew every time you come to the sacramental table. We say then, you cannot depart from this high standard of duty, but at the hazard of setting at naught covenant vows, and stamping on the most solemn act you ever performed the

character of a farce. We repeat, you have professed to be a follower of Christ ; and a follower of Christ you *must* be, or your profession will testify against you every where.

You owe this duty to the CHURCH.

On the day of your public and solemn dedication of yourself to God, you entered into covenant with God's people that you would endeavor by every means in your power, to promote their edification and growth in grace. This engagement, let it be remembered, was made before heaven and earth ; and the hour in which it was made, you yourself, we venture to say, now look back upon, as an hour of the deepest interest in your whole life. This proves, that there was something which you regarded as very solemn in the vows you then assumed ; in the covenant into which you entered with the church, that you would be a fellow-helper with them unto the kingdom of God. And we ask, how is this pledge to be redeemed ? In no other way than by a life of consistent, active, devoted obedience. If you lower down the standard of christian character, you cannot redeem it ; for then your deportment becomes that of a worldling ; and your example is entirely on the side of a worldly influence. You are even guilty of offending Christ's little ones ; and Christ himself hath declared that it were better for a man, than that he should do this, that he should have a mill-stone hung about his neck, and he should be drowned in the depths of the sea.

It is a common, but most mistaken notion that the injury that is effected by a backsliding professor is confined chiefly to the world. It is perceived and acknowledged at once on all hands, that the lax conduct of a professed christian has a bad influence upon those who are indifferent to religion ; but it is not so readily seen that other professors who are themselves acting under the weight of christian obligation, should be injured by it. But professed christians, instead of looking directly to their Master for an example, too often look at each other ; and especially if they have begun to backslide, they are sure to do so : and they generally look most at the greatest backsliders ; especially if they happen to be in the higher walks of life ; for here they find most to keep them in countenance. That there may be no possibility of mistake here, we would ask our readers to make this a subject for self-examination. Do you not believe that you have sometimes yielded to practices, which, if you had taken counsel only of your conscience and the bible—which, if you had not the example of other professors to encourage you—you would not have dared to yield to for a moment ? Have you never been in circumstances or places in which the first question you had to answer, was, whether there were any professors of religion around you ; and have you not even been shocked, if you

have happened to find yourself alone? Now then you have only to bear in mind that other professors are looking at you precisely as you are looking at them; while both you and they are doing that which neither of you would dare to do, if you were not kept in countenance by each other. I say then, that you owe it to the *edification* of your fellow christians, that you adopt no other than the gospel standard.

You have pledged yourself also to be mindful of their *happiness* as well as of their edification; but in attempting to bring down the standard of duty, you wound those of them who are faithful, to the heart. They follow you with their thoughts, and affections, and prayers, if not with their expostulations; and while they grieve at the loss of your good christian conversation, so far as respects themselves, and of the injury you are doing to your own soul, they are especially pained at the reflection that you are a stumbling block to others, and that you are wounding the cause of that Savior who has given his blood for his people.

You owe this duty to the *WORLD*.

We grant that it is a most unwarrantable perversion for the world to encourage themselves in sin, because professors of religion forget or violate their christian obligations. The process by which they arrive at their conclusion, you instantly perceive, is the merest fallacy, and will not stand the test of a moment's examination. Nevertheless you are bound to take things as they are; and if the world are actually going down to perdition, on the plea that professors of religion live careless lives, it becomes the bounden duty of professors to disarm them of this plea, by a different course of living. It must be acknowledged, that there is a tendency in human nature to imitate the example of those with whom we mingle; and so far as this goes, the evil perhaps on the part of the world is not altogether voluntary; but whether entirely voluntary or not, it exists, and exists to a most alarming extent; and in these days of revivals many a man who is made the subject of renewing grace, is honestly confessing that he believes he should long ago have been a christian, had he not used this foolish argument with his conscience for the neglect of religion. We say then, you owe it to the world—to the fearful interests which you know they have at stake—to that meeting which you *may* have with some of them on the bed of death, and to that meeting which you *must* have with them at the bar of judgment, that you say nothing, and do nothing, which shall be a stumbling block in their way; that you say and do every thing you can to allure them into the path to heaven.

You owe this duty to the *SPIRIT OF THE AGE*.

It is due to the *rising claims* of the age. It is impossible to compare the present with the past, without perceiving that the pro-

fessed disciples of Christ are far more than formerly "a city set on a hill that cannot be hid." Many things in professors which were tolerated once, are now tolerated no longer; and many things which have been winked at even up to the present time, are rapidly passing on to the list of forbidden indulgences. There is a feeling diffused throughout the church of Christ that it must be so; and that if the Savior is wounded in the house of his friends, his friends must lift up their voices against it. Be persuaded, there is a similar feeling on the part of the world: they in fact require more of us than they once did; that is, they expect more, and if they do not find it, they mark the deficiency. They are more eagle-eyed to discern inconsistencies than they once were, and many of them at least are more trumpet-tongued to proclaim them. Professed christians then, in rising up to a higher standard of religious character, only meet the claims of the age; we only do what the church, nay, what the world require of us.

It is due also to the *forming character* of the age;—the influence which it is likely to exert upon the ages to come. No one who observes the signs of the times can doubt that a new era has begun in our day. A great system of moral machinery has recently gone into operation, which marks an entire change in the religious state of the world; and this seems to be the period in which moral influence of any kind will tell with prodigious power on the character of all coming generations. So it was in the days of the reformation. Those who labored in that great work, were sending down through all posterity, a tide of influence, of which even themselves had no adequate conception; while the same amount of effort at another time, would have been comparatively unknown in its influence upon the world. If we do not mistake, you live at a period, when all that is done is emphatically done for future generations. It is due to them, therefore, that you should send down to them no false standard of religious character: on the contrary, that by endeavoring to rise higher and higher in your christian attainments, you should roll down upon them a tide of spiritual blessings, which will make your memories precious on earth, while your spirits are rejoicing in heaven.

It is also due to the *spirit of revivals* that marks the present age. There is nothing which the spirit of God more commonly or more effectually uses in breaking up the lethargy of sinners, and bringing them to repentance, than the humble, consistent, and faithful lives of professors of religion. And whenever a large number of christians are seen living agreeably to their profession, you may calculate with confidence that sinners around will be rebuked and disturbed; and if facts furnish any ground for a conclusion, you may expect that God is about to pour out his Spirit. And this

agency is employed in carrying forward a revival, as well as in commencing it. Not only because this state of things supposes that they are ready to engage directly in the work, but because their general example is an epistle that is seen and read of all around them;—a practical exhibition of the truth, that the ways of religion are ways of pleasantness. What professor would dare assume the responsibility of driving away the spirit of God from the heart of a sinner who was seeking his soul's salvation? And yet we doubt not that the carelessness of professed christians has sometimes driven the spirit away even from a congregation; and turned a host of sinners out of the path to heaven into the downward road. You can never know the amount of influence which a careless deportment may exert at such a time, until you stand in the judgment; but it would not be strange if you should be compelled to trace it then in many countenances black with consternation and agony, while the miserable beings will single you out as their destroyer, as they are sinking into the pit. If you shrink from holding this fearful thought to your mind, Oh, shrink from doing any thing which may be the means of bringing you to the scene which it contemplates. Always bear in mind that while it is a rich blessing to live at this period of revivals, it brings you under a strong obligation to be fellow-helpers with the Holy Spirit, by walking in the footsteps of Christ, in carrying forward God's gracious purposes in the salvation of men.

Moreover, it is due to *the privileges* of the age, that you adopt the scriptural standard. You enjoy many more helps for reaching an eminent growth in piety, than most of those that have gone before you. There is far less difficulty now than in former years in maintaining christian intercourse; in finding many around who are willing to be co-workers with you unto the kingdom of God. The practice of social prayer among christians has also of late been rapidly gaining ground; and there is no want of those who count it a privilege to meet together to strengthen each others' hands, and encourage each other's hearts by this delightful exercise. The effusions of the Holy Spirit are far more plentiful and powerful than in preceding ages; and there is hardly any christian, at least in this favored region, who is not privileged, at some time or other, to mingle in a revival of religion. Many obstacles in the way of doing good are removed, and a thousand facilities enjoyed in consequence of the benevolent movements of the day, which confer upon you a highly privileged distinction above most christians that have gone before you. Surely then you ought not to be contented with low attainments. Your privileges imperatively demand that you should rise high in the scale of holy living; that you should adopt no other standard than that which Christ has given you in his gospel.

You owe this duty to that SAVIOR who you hope has redeemed you with his blood.

You profess to believe that you were once lying under the curse of God, and exposed to all the pollution, and wrath, and torment of the pit. You profess to believe, that Jesus poured out his blood upon the cross to purchase your deliverance from this tremendous doom, and your exaltation to a crown, and a throne, and a harp, of immortal glory. You profess to expect that after the residence of a few more years at longest in this world, you will come into full possession of this incorruptible inheritance. Now, we ask you, what do you not owe to this condescending, gracious, almighty Savior? Dare you lift up your head, christian, and say, nay, can you even indulge the thought without a blush, that the best service you can render is too good for him, who hath loved you and given himself to die for you? That it is an unreasonable requisition, and one from which you would wish to be free, that you should walk in his footsteps; that you should renounce the vanities and pleasures of the world, and every thing else, so far as it may interfere with your entire obedience to his commandments. Oh, he did not feel thus toward you, when the blood came streaming from his side on Calvary, or when he bowed his head, and cried, "It is finished." And you do not, you cannot feel thus towards him; for we know there is gratitude in your heart, and that *must* constrain you to follow him cheerfully, whithersoever he may lead you.

The preceding remarks may furnish some useful instructions in respect to making a public profession of religion. It shows us that it is at once a duty and a privilege. It is a duty not only because Christ has positively commanded it, but because it is essential to letting our light shine as we are commanded to do; to our exerting the greatest amount of good influence. It is utterly impossible that you should even approach the scriptural standard of christian character, so long as you turn your back upon this duty; and we venture to say, that you cannot intelligently and deliberately look at what you are doing and remain at ease. It is, moreover, a most precious privilege; not only because it brings you to the sacramental table where the Savior's banner over his people is love, and introduces you there into the green pastures, but because it brings you more directly under a christian influence, and furnishes you with greater helps for your duties and conflicts. In short, whether you look at it on the score of duty or privilege, of religious enjoyment or of religious improvement, we think you cannot fail to be brought to the same result.

But while the preceding remarks show you the importance of a public profession, they inculcate not less impressively the responsibility of it. While it is clearly your duty to come into the sacred

enclosure of the church, it is equally your duty to come with deliberation and prayer, after having carefully counted the cost; for a christian profession places you instantly on an eminence; all that you do from the hour of your making it, is judged by a different standard; and your errors may stab the cause till it bleeds to the very quick. Thousands of professors do dishonor the cause; and unless you are upheld by the almighty grace of God, what better can you expect than that you too will be marked as a backslider or even an apostate?

But perhaps some one will say, "then I will not run the hazard of joining the church." But stop, my friend, weigh that matter well before you come to such a conclusion. It is not at your option whether to join the church or not. Christ has decided that you must come, and if you do not, you disobey his plain command; and in doing that, how can you expect either to be useful or happy? Yes, there is no alternative left for you unless you will run the hazard of setting at naught his dying injunction, but that you must confess him before the world, and you must live agreeably to your profession. This is the only path which he marks out for you; if you turn to the right or the left, you are on forbidden ground. But do you not ask what security you can have, that you shall not dishonor your Master's cause? We answer, every security you need in the promise of divine grace. "My grace is sufficient for thee," coming from the throne of heaven, is answer enough to every doubt or apprehension that may rise in your breast. Casting yourself on that grace, we say again, obey the Savior's command and come.

ART. VII.—REVIEW OF A VISIT TO THE SOUTH SEAS, &c.

A visit to the South Seas, in the U. S. Ship Vincennes, during the years 1829 and 1830; exhibiting the present state, civil and religious, of the Washington or Northern Marquesan, the Georgian, Society, and Sandwich Islands, with scenes in Brazil, Peru, Canton, Manilla, the Cape of Good Hope, and St. Helena. By C. S. STEWART, A. M. Chaplain in the United States' Navy, and author of *A Residence in the Sandwich Islands in 1823—1825.*

WHEN Xenophon wrote the history of the life and actions of the eastern monarch, he delineated, not the character of Cyrus as it actually was, but such a character, as in his own view, became a wise and virtuous prince. Too many of our modern journalists, in reporting to those at home what they have seen abroad, have proceeded upon a principle very similar to that of the Greek historian. Instead of exhibiting a faithful transcript of what they actually saw, they seem in many instances to have labored chiefly to work up the picture to a correspondence with what they had previously

imagined; or at any rate to throw over it an air of novelty and a vividness of coloring, which would be likely to render it attractive. Of course where this has been the case, they have given us fancy sketches, in place of correct accounts of the men, manners, and scenery which they have pretended to describe.

The work before us, is not, we have reason to believe, of this description. Our readers will recognize in its author, the Rev. C. S. Stewart, one of the band of missionaries, which in 1822 embarked at New-Haven for the Sandwich Islands. Mr. Stewart after three years of labor was compelled, in consequence of the ill health of Mrs. S. to relinquish that interesting field, and return to his native land. The journal, with which the christian public were subsequently favored, of his outward passage and his residence at the islands, has been extensively circulated both in this country and in England, and admired no less for the accuracy of its details, than for the liveliness and beauty of its manner. The present work is at least equal in variety and interest; and we have the testimony of other gentlemen belonging to the Vincennes, to the uncommon fidelity of its representations.

The "Visit to the South Seas" was made by Mr. Stewart as chaplain in the naval service of the United States. His book, though still retaining the form of familiar letters in which it was originally written, is a regular and copious journal of the cruise. We shall lay before our readers in a general sketch the principal incidents which it presents; dwelling occasionally on such, as from their character or bearing may seem to be of peculiar interest or importance.

The *Guerriere*, in which Mr. Stewart left this country, was commanded by Com. Thompson, and sailed from the Chesapeake on the 14th of Feb. 1829. Her orders were, touching first at Rio de Janeiro, to proceed to the western coast of South America, for the purpose of relieving the squadron upon that station, one of which was the Vincennes; and to return home by the way of the islands of the Pacific, Canton, and the Cape of Good Hope. Our author thus describes the commencement of the voyage.

Our noble ship looked like some "living thing," conscious of the power and majesty with which she rested on her wings, in this act of condescension and kindness. The *St. Louis*, a bright and beautiful vessel close in our wake, was in a similar manner discharging her temporary guide; while the white sand bluff forming Cape Henry, surmounted with its lighthouse, and flanked on either side by a stretch of low, cedar covered shore—with the bellying sails of a coaster here and there gleaming brightly in the morning sun made up the sketch. There was scarce time, however, for the eye to glance on its different objects, before the landmen in their bark, with kind tossings of the hat and hand, were hastening to their homes, and the frigate and her consort with squared yards, were heaping sail upon sail to catch all the freshness of the breeze now bearing us far away.

At 11 o'clock with a strong northwester and an unclouded sky, we took our departure from Cape Henry, the light-house due west twelve miles. Shortly afterwards we lost sight of it, the few stretches of coast still looming here and there in the distance, appearing only like lines of haze on the horizon, and quickly becoming, as the ship rose and fell with the swellings of the deep, entirely indistinguishable from the distant heavings of the sea.

I have, more than once, known what it is to see a friend of the heart hurried away upon the ocean to distant and uncertain scenes; but now, for the first time, felt what it was to be myself the wanderer, lanching forth comparatively alone, while all most dear were far behind. I recollect in one of the former instances, to have watched the receding sail till reduced to a wavering and almost invisible speck on the horizon; and in another, I lost sight of her, while yet a tall spire on the water, in the haze of approaching night; and in a third, beheld her, still seemingly within hail, suddenly cut from the view by the scud and blackness of a driving storm; and in each case, as the eager eye failed in again securing its object, and was compelled to exclaim, "she is gone!" I found relief from the oppression within only by fervent prayer to that Being who not only "commands the winds and the waves and they obey," but who guards and sanctifies by his grace all who put their trust in him. The rapid and involuntary ejaculation has been, "Almighty and most merciful God, let thy Spirit be with him! preserve him from the power of the tempest and from the destruction of the deep! Keep him O keep him from the evil there is in the world, in the world to come crown him with life everlasting!" while "God bless him!" "God bless him!" were the long echoings of the heart. And now, as I stood, gazing still on the west, while nothing but the undulating line of a watery horizon was marked against its clear blue sky, I insensibly looked—at thoughts of those I love best—to the same consolatory and sure refuge; and in prayer and in tears left for them a memorial before God. pp. 21--23.

A prosperous voyage is ordinarily interesting rather than diversified. The very fact that the wanderer is as it were cut off from the bustle and the varied incidents of common life, leaves his thoughts more free and undiverted, gives his imagination a livelier play, and begets a softened susceptibility, a tenderness of feeling, which fits him to be exquisitely alive to the beauties of the ocean—whether he sees it silvered by the glittering radiance of moonlight, or gilded by the richer hues of sunrise or of sunset, or lashed and tossed in the terrific grandeur of the tempest. And hence even in the absence of remarkable occurrences, there is yet felt

The exulting sense—the pulse's maddening play
That thrills the wanderer of that trackless way.

And the transcript of gloomy feeling, accompanied by striking sketches of the scenery by which it is awakened, will prove more interesting to the majority of readers, than the mere detail of incidents which have in them, perhaps, little that is entertaining. Such a transcript are the four letters which describe the voyage to Brazil.

They give us a glance at the policy and general aspect of a man-of-war, notice briefly the professional and moral character of the seamen, furnish several sea sketches beautifully drawn, and present many interesting circumstances and remarks, in connection with the professional labors of the writer.

On the 30th of March, 1829, after a passage of somewhat more than six weeks, the *Guerriere* entered the bay of Rio de Janeiro. The adjacent scenery Mr. Stewart describes as preeminently fine.

On our right, and very near, was a beautifully defined beach, of snowy whiteness, stretching in a long curve to the east, and with a couple of islets, which we had passed, forming the kind of bay in which we were. Beyond the beach stretched a narrow interval of lowland, covered with grass, backed by abrupt hills and mountains of varied and beautiful outline; the center of the sweep rising much above the rest, and forming a kind of crown to all around; the whole beautifully wooded, and still in the wild luxuriance of nature.

The lights of the evening gave the contour and shades of the landscape in fine effect; and with the setting sun, and its after coloring, there was a richness of hue thrown over it which I have never seen surpassed. You know the appearance of a heavy, distant thunder storm, in a mountainous country—such was the blackness of the whole hemisphere inland, imparting to the range of mountains about the entrance of the harbor, and to the sky above, one dead coloring of the deepest neutral tint. Over this blackness, in which streaks of sharpest lightning were fearfully playing, masses of those towering, motionless clouds, seen usually in America only in the afternoon and evening of a sultry summer's day, rose high against the heavens—their tops and sides illumined by the sun behind, with gorgeous hues of purple and of gold, contrasting beautifully with the blackness beneath, and the deep blue of the tropic sky above. Such was the scene in front, with a sail or two in the foreground; while on our right stretched the white beach, green hills, and rich mountains before described; and behind, and on our left in the east, the ocean; from the bosom of which long and broadly marked rays of the deepest carmine, shot high up the blueness of the hemisphere, as if the sun were about again to rise in the fullness of his glory, from a watery bed in that direction. pp. 45, 46.

The city of Rio de Janeiro, the capitol of Brazil, is situated five miles from the entrance of the bay on its southern side; and contains a population of about 200,000. Its external appearance is highly picturesque; but with some exceptions in favor of the higher parts of the city, it is generally confined and filthy, and, as a natural consequence, is frequently unhealthy.

As the ship was to remain several days at Rio, Mr. Stewart took up his residence on shore, at the house of Hon. Wm. Tudor, United States' resident at the Brazilian court; and through the politeness of that gentleman was presented to the emperor, and the most distinguished persons connected with his government, and enjoyed peculiar facilities for becoming acquainted with the institutions and

manners of the country. He was present at the opening of the imperial Cortez by Don Pedro ; from his account of which, we extract the following.

Both houses of the cortes had convened, and the members were answering to the call of their names. The whole—ecclesiastics in full canonicals, and laymen in court dress, with the cabinet ministers in chairs of state—made a varied and splendid show.

Happily for us simple republicans, a throne, that gorgeous seat for which men, it is to be feared, have sacrificed their all—eternal as well as temporal—needs in our country, and may it ever need, to be described. That of Brazil is a richly carved arm chair, supported by miniature lions with their heads and manes in front, the whole in the richest gilding. The point of the high back is surmounted by an imperial crown also gilt, and the cushions are of white satin embroidered with gold. The ascent to the square platform of green velvet, on which it stands, is by three steps covered with the same material. The canopy of green silk velvet, with a gilt crown on the cornice in front, is as lofty as the ceiling, and from it heavy hangings of velvet, richly embroidered with gold, and lined with white damask figured with the same, descend to the platform and floor of the chamber.

Precisely at one, the hour appointed, Don Pedro, preceded by two officers, and followed by the cabinet and the whole cortes in procession, entered the farther end of the hall. Having to walk the whole length of it towards us, before reaching the throne, we had time for a deliberate survey of him. He was in full coronation attire, wearing the crown, and bearing the sceptre. The crown is lofty, of a beautiful antique shape, and one of the richest in the world. Except the cap of green silk velvet and the band or rim of gold, it seemed one mass of diamonds. Around the neck was a Spanish ruff of lace, and beneath it, in place of the ermine in other regal attire, a deep cape of the bright yellow feathers of the toucan, a splendid Brazilian bird. This cape was a part of the dress of the ancient caciques of the country, and was, with great propriety retained in the coronation paraphernalia, on the establishment of the empire. It is very like the feather capes of our Sandwich Island chieftains. Then came the robe of green silk velvet, lined with white satin, the whole gorgeously embroidered with gold. A recollection of some of the dresses in David's "Coronation of Josephine," will give you the best idea of this, as it swept far behind him. It was supported at a distance of ten or twelve feet by a couple of pages, who as the emperor became seated, cast it one side, leaving it widely spread over the steps of the throne. His under dress was of white satin embroidered with gold—high military boots, gold spurs, and a diamond hilted sword.

The loftiness of the crown, and general effect of the dress, made him appear tall, though his person is only of middle height, but stout and finely formed. His step was long, firm and deliberate, and more artificial I should think than essential to true dignity, while the expression of his countenance and whole air were decidedly haughty. This was probably attributable to an ill mood arising from circumstances connected with the special session of the legislature about to be opened.

When within a few steps of the throne, he stopped for a moment, and bowed to the diplomatic corps. This afforded me a full view of his face. His features are regular and of good style, with dark complexion, and full prominent eyes of light hazle. A projection of the cheeks near

each corner of the mouth, whether natural when his face is in fixed dignity, or the effect of ill humor at the moment, imparted great sullenness to his appearance; to which a pair of black whiskers and mustaches, added something like a touch of fierceness.

As soon as he was seated, a private secretary, kneeling on a step of the throne, presented a rich portfolio containing a single sheet of letter paper, on the first page of which was the imperial speech. He read it in a distinct, emphatic, and dignified manner; and in less than five minutes, descended from the throne, bowed again to the ambassadors, and left the chamber in the same manner he had entered. pp. 57—60.

Another letter contains a description of a Brazilian residence, and of the domestic habits and manners of the country. On visiting the mansion of a Brazilian gentleman, you enter the basement, Mr. Stewart informs us, "by a large, central, barn-like door;" and on looking around you are ready to conclude that the appearance of the entrance does not belie the character of the edifice; for you find yourself at once in the midst of all the carriages belonging to the establishment, with their appurtenances and equipage. Further examination, however, discovers three paths; one of which leads to the stables in the rear, and belongs appropriately to grooms and horses;—a second, conducts to the kitchen;—and the third, which is in the center, up a flight of stone steps to the more honorable apartments of the buildings. To announce yourself, moreover, you find neither bell nor knocker; and if no servant happens to be in attendance, the object must be accomplished by a thrice repeated clapping of the hands, followed by the exclamation, "et chew," like the driving of a fowl. On taking leave, says our author, the master of the house accompanies the visitor to the landing of the stairs; where, returning a second bow of departure, he waits till his guest with hat in hand, has descended to the last point in mutual view, where final bows are exchanged.

On the whole, the citizens of Rio are represented as a polite and interesting people; with this qualification however, that within a few years past, they have adopted a general system of the most absolute inhospitality. No entertainments are ever given by them either to strangers or foreign residents; a fact the more extraordinary, as they are not at all averse to share in the hospitality of those who reside among them. This singular course of conduct, is said to have arisen from the disclosures of private life made by travelers, who had been introduced into the social circles of the city; and also from the want of education and intelligence among the females, even of the highest classes of society.

In another letter we have an account of a grand levee at court on the birth-day of the queen of Portugal; embracing a description of the palace, of the ceremonies attending a presentation to the emperor, and of the appearance and equipage of the royal family.

We have also the author's visits to the most interesting public institutions—the chamber of deputies—the royal library—the academy of arts—the national museum—the episcopal palace—and the botanical garden. The visit at Rio de Janeiro concludes with a sketch of the character of the Hon. Wm. Tudor; a gentleman who is an ornament to his country, whether considered as a statesman, a scholar, or a man.

After a visit of nearly three weeks, the *Guerriere* left the Brazilian capital, to prosecute her voyage. We have not room to dwell on the passage round cape Horn. We shall only observe respecting it, that Mr. Stewart found in his efforts for the moral improvement of the seamen, a very interesting field of labor; and appears to have been eminently successful in securing their confidence, and gaining access to their hearts. Indeed, though it has often been thought otherwise, we believe that the sailor with all his recklessness and assumed *sang froid*, is in fact, if addressed under proper circumstances and in a proper manner, at once easy of access and open to conviction. Such certainly was found to be the fact on board the *Guerriere*. Mr. Stewart enjoyed the satisfaction of directing the anxious minds of several, to the Savior of the lost; and of seeing them exhibit in their lives the spirit of the gospel. The whole crew gave a respectful and interested attendance on the exercise of daily prayer; and the effect of moral influence was very manifest in the subordination and decorum which prevailed throughout the ship. We hope the day is not far distant, when those who are at the head of this department, will carry through the plan upon which they have recently begun to act, of supplying all the ships on service, with men who are competent to exert this kind of influence in the happiest manner. The result of such a course, undoubtedly, will be to elevate the character and improve the discipline of our seamen, and thus add to the efficiency of our naval power.

Having gained the western coast, the *Guerriere* proceeded directly to Callao, only touching at Valparaiso as she passed. At Callao were found the *Brandywine*, the *Dolphin*, and the *Vincennes*; to the latter of which, Mr. Stewart was now to be transferred, with her to complete the circuit of the world. As she was not however to proceed immediately, an opportunity was afforded of visiting Lima, the capital of Peru, pompously styled "*La Ciudad de los reyes*"—the city of the kings. Lima was founded by Pizarro in 1532. It is situated eight or nine miles inland from the port of Callao, which is its commercial mart. Owing to earthquakes, which have repeatedly laid almost the whole city in ruins, and to the mode of building which has been adopted in apprehension of a recurrence of like calamities, it wears a mean and shabby

aspect. Its population of 50,000 is chiefly remarkable for its depraved and dissolute character. Mr. Stewart remained at Lima sufficiently long to make many interesting observations upon the manners and customs of the Peruvians, and to visit the principal objects of curiosity, such as the palace, the inquisitorial court, the national museum, and the convent of St. Francisco.

On returning to Callao, Mr. Stewart took leave of his fellow officers and charge in the *Guerriere*, and entered on his official duties on board the *Vincennes*; a sloop of twenty-four guns, commanded by Capt. William C. B. Finch, a highly intelligent and accomplished officer. On the 4th of July, the *Vincennes* left that port to prosecute her voyage; and reached the Washington, or Marquesan Islands, her first destination, on the 27th.

The Washington Islands are a group, three in number, situated, between the parallels of $8^{\circ} 38'$ and $9^{\circ} 32'$ S. latitude, $130^{\circ} 20'$ and $140^{\circ} 10'$ W. longitude, from Greenwich. They were discovered in 1791, by Capt. Ingraham of Boston; and visited in the succeeding year by Capt. Roberts of the same place, and from him received the name by which they have since been designated. The largest of the group, called Nukuhiva, is twenty miles in length, and nearly the same in breadth, and has several commodious harbors. The other two, Huahuka and Uapou, are of inferior size, and have not been often visited.

In approaching the islands, the *Vincennes* first made Huahuka; and coasted for several miles along its southern shore. Mr. Stewart has given one of the most graphic and beautiful descriptions that can be imagined, of the appearance of the natives, as they collected along the shore, and expressed their wonder in wild gesticulations.

As yet, we had discovered no sign whatever of inhabitants. Every thing on shore seemed solitary as the desert. Disappointed in this respect, and night rapidly approaching, we were about to bear away for Nukuhiva—already dimly descried far in the west from us—when a high bluff of rocks directly abreast of the ship became suddenly crowned with islanders, whose light skins and naked figures were perfectly distinguishable, while the shore rang with wild shouts, as they waved streamers of white cloth high on their spears, and tossed their mantles above their heads in the air. Having too much sail set readily to check the way of the ship, we soon shot past, while they—scampering along the heights and over a hill ahead—shouted and whistled with every variety of intonation of voice, and still wildly gesticulating with their hands and arms, and waving their tapas on high.

We reduced sail as rapidly as possible, and getting at the same time under the lee of the land, our speed was quickly lessened, to an almost insensible progress, and we were expecting the party soon to be up with us again when the figures of others were seen against the sky, hurrying down the face of a rocky promontory just ahead—the hallooing, and

beckoning, and waving of streamers, commencing at the same time among them.

The hills behind this bluff rise precipitately, and are beautifully wooded. In coming abreast of it, we found it to shelter by its projection, a short pebbly beach opening into a narrow ravine, filled with heavy groves to the water's edge. The front of the glen is but a few rods in width, and so completely occupied with trees as to appear but one deeply shaded bower. Nothing like a habitation could be discerned, and it is probable that the shelter of the groves and the recesses of the rocks constitute the only abodes of the forty or fifty natives seen hanging among the cliffs, or clustering in rude excitement on the shore.

The scene was one of the wildest imaginable; and such, as few have it in their power ever to behold. The picturesque beauty of the wooded hills and glens brightly gleaming in the setting sun, the naked figures of the islanders, and their rude and extravagant gestures and vociferations—exhibiting man in the simplest state of his fallen nature, still the unclothed tenant of the forest, and the inhabitant of the cave—could scarce fail of producing a most powerful sensation among those who had never before witnessed any thing of the kind. And I suspect no one on board was disappointed in the depth of impression or degree of excitement occasioned by this first scene in the South Seas. pp. 218, 219.

The next day the Vincennes came to anchor in the bay of Taiohæ, on the southern shore of Nukuhiva. The sketch which Mr. Stewart has given, from observations made during a fortnight's visit, of the general aspect of these islands, and of the character and condition of the natives, we are sure cannot be perused without lively interest. We cannot go over minutely with the details which it presents; but must content ourselves with glancing at them in one brief and general view.

When the eccentric and imaginative Rousseau set himself to establish the absurd opinion, that the happiest state of man was that of savage wildness, he pictured to himself the child of nature, as roaming along his native streams and among his native forests—reveling without satiety amid the simplicity and loveliness of nature; and possessing a heart uncontaminated by the vices of society, and undisturbed by depraved and restless passions. Had the sentimentalist himself, or another of like romantic notions and equally erroneous views of the moral relations of our race, been permitted to visit Nukuhiva and its neighborhood, without becoming intimately acquainted with the condition of the people, he would undoubtedly have supposed that he had realized the *beau-ideal* of his fancy. He would have found natural scenery almost if not altogether unsurpassed. In making his survey, he might have rambled over a delightful variety of mountain and vale—now admiring the loveliness of the wild and quiet glen, and now the gently sweeping current, or the leaping water-fall;—now casting the eye over the groves of the cocoa-nut, the bread-fruit, and the broad palmetto, and a thousand other varieties of tree and shrub, which clothe the

whole scene with verdure ; and now fixing it upon the rich shading of a sky, which seemed the gorgeous drapery of the picture. Then he might have looked at the natives themselves ; and might have seen them beautiful in person, generally healthy and athletic, engaged in fishing, hunting or the dance ; and like the first pair in paradise, though naked, or nearly so, yet "not ashamed : " and in view of the whole, he might easily have concluded that happiness here sprung up indigenous, and grew unblighted.

But to an observer, who understands and appreciates the moral destiny of man, and who has opportunity for a closer observation, the islanders appear under a totally different aspect. His more just and accurate estimate of their condition, does not indeed dismantle their enchanting scenery of its beauties ; but it utterly strips away the gaudy veil so deceptive to the superficial or fanciful observer, and discloses their wretchedness and degradation. It exhibits them, in respect to their enjoyments, as on a level with the brute creation. Free indeed, but in the same sense, and to the same purpose, as the eagle or the lion, which devote half their existence to the gratification of the appetites, and stupidly dream away the remainder in the eyry and the lair. Instead of the purity of Eden, he discovers the existence of unrestrained licentiousness ;—instead of the unsuspecting cheerfulness of conscious innocence, the superstitious fears and dark forebodings of debased and bewildered minds ;—instead of any correct ideas of God, the idolatrous altar reeking with human blood ;—instead of uninterrupted harmony and love, the cruelties of savage warfare maintained almost without remission ;—and finally, he ascertains from their own confession that the revolting practice exists among them, of feasting on the flesh of their fellow beings, when taken prisoners in battle.

Such is actually the estimate which from a careful observation, Mr. Stewart has made of the condition of the natives of Nukuhiva, and the adjacent islands. With such a view before him of what must undoubtedly be regarded as one of the fairest specimens of savage life which the world affords, who will maintain, that theirs is an enviable state ; or at least, that it would not be improved by the introduction of civilization and christianity. And when for a moment we reflect, that they are made for immortality—made rational and accountable—endowed with those susceptibilities and attributes, which fit them to rank but little lower than the angels ;—and then see to what a depth they are degraded below the high prerogative of their being ; how does the heart of christian benevolence mourn over their unhappy lot, and pray that the Sun of Righteousness may speedily rise upon them. There seems indeed, *on their part*, no serious obstacle in the way of an immediate introduction of the means of mental and moral improvement. They manifest but

little attachment to their present idolatries and superstitions; and declare themselves willing to receive teachers, and disposed to treat them kindly. It is ardently to be hoped, that the christian world will not allow the period to be long, in which these isles shall wait for the law of God in vain.

During the stay of the Vincennes at Nukuhiva, Mr. Stewart, in company with other officers, made frequent excursions upon the island. Some of his descriptions of the scenery which thus came under their observation, are extremely beautiful. Such for example as the following :

The hill is one of the steepest I ever ascended : in many places almost entirely perpendicular, and mounted only by clinging from one point of rock to another, and laying hold on the branches of the trees and shrubs with which it is heavily clothed. Cut off by the cliffs above, from the refreshing influence of the trade wind, with the heat of an afternoon sun beating directly upon us, it was necessary to stop every few moments to regain our breath : but the necessity soon became a delight from the varied and beautiful views afforded, at every turn, of the little valley, its humble cots, and untutored inmates—strolling slowly along the margin of its streams, or reclining listlessly, after the excitement of our visit, beneath the shade of the palmy groves, whose plume-like tops were already waving gracefully at our feet. The surrounding hills wore a double green, from the strong light falling upon them; and in their brightness, presented a beautiful contrast to the broken lines of milk-white surf playing round their bases, and the deep blue of the bay and peaceful ocean beyond.

When about midway up the face of the hill, after gaining the summit of one of the boldest of the projecting ledges of rock, I turned for a moment, and was at once rivited in admiration, at a new, but distant object of wild beauty—a second waterfall at the head of a deep ravine, branching off on the west, from the beautiful valley. It was directly opposite, perhaps a half mile distant, and a hundred and fifty or two hundred feet below the level of the rock on which I stood. Tempe itself can scarce boast any thing of the kind in equal beauty. A heavy mountain torrent, in a thickly wooded dell, bursts upon the eye from a rich bed of overhanging foliage, and in one broad, bright, and unbroken sheet of seeming silver, pours itself over the cliff a hundred feet below. The pool into which it falls, is a beautiful circular basin, thickly enclosed by clumps of trees of such rich and varied foliage—from that of the conical and dark shaded ironwood, to the white leaves and flowers of the more spreading and tufted candle-tree—as to seem the planting of a cultivated taste, rather than an irregular growth of nature. We looked down upon its quiet, and deeply shaded surface, over the tops of the trees; and had I been a heathen Greek, I should certainly have pictured, in its cool recesses, the figures of the muses, as alone worthy of such a haunt. pp. 348, 349.

The whole intercourse of both officers and crew with the islanders, was of the most friendly character. That such was the fact, is undoubtedly in no small degree to be attributed to the judicious policy of Captain Finch; who instead of allowing the crew, as has too frequently been done, to give themselves up to disorder and licentiousness, imposed such wholesome regulations and restrictions,

as effectually secured a decorous and orderly behavior. If the officers of all our ships who visit these and other islands of a similar character, had the wisdom to adopt, and the spirit to enforce a like *régime*, a vast amount of difficulty would be saved, and no small dishonor wiped from the escutcheon of our country.

For many interesting incidents at the islands—for an account of the social habits and manners of the people, and of the civil, military and religious orders of society, we must refer our readers to Mr. Stewart's own account. Having remained sufficiently long to attain the object of the visit, on the 14th of August, after a display on the preceding evening, of fire works for the gratification of the natives, the ship weighed anchor and took leave of the beautiful island of Nukuhiva.

Next on her intended route came the Georgian and Society Islands. These, though sometimes all designated by the latter name, and distinguished as the leeward and windward clusters, are in fact distinct groups about one hundred miles distant from each other. They are so well known as to render a description of their geographical position unnecessary here. It may well be supposed, that wearing as they now do the aspect of civilization in a state of great advancement, they present to the eye of a visitor a very different picture from that exhibited by those which have already been described. The contrast as noticed in approaching Tahiti, the largest of the Georgian group, was indeed such as to excite the surprise and admiration of the officers and crew of the *Vincennes*. Instead of a shore covered with naked savages, giving demonstrations of their rudeness in wild shouts and uncouth gestures, they saw a thousand objects indicative of civilization, and the attendant blessings of order and social happiness. The comfortable dwellings and spacious chapels of the people, all neatly whitewashed, might be seen scattered along the water-side, imparting, as they glittered in the sun, additional liveliness and beauty to scenery by nature singularly picturesque. Nor was the favorable opinion they were thus led to entertain of the condition of the islands, altered by their subsequent intercourse with the natives. They found them decorous in their dress and manners,—industrious in their habits,—enjoying, under an efficient and systematic government, the rights of property, and the comforts of domestic life,—and possessing and appreciating the means of education, and the privileges of the sabbath and other institutions of christianity. These remarks are alike applicable to the Society and Georgian islands; on each of which Mr. Stewart has four letters containing many interesting particulars on which we should be glad to dwell; but we feel obliged to leave them with this general notice, in order to pass on to another portion of the work.

The Vincennes proceeded next to the Sandwich group. The situation and early history of these islands are given at length in our author's former work, and, we presume, are familiar to our readers. In a commercial point of view they are altogether more important than those of which we have just been speaking; and the character of the people as now developing under the influence of civilization and religion, is decidedly more interesting than is to be found among any other of the isles of the Pacific. Owing perhaps in a considerable degree to their numerous facilities for trade, they are full of activity and enterprise, and ambitious of becoming proficient in the useful arts, and of elevating themselves to a rank of national respectability. In the support of an effective government and wholesome laws,—of schools and the general system of education,—of religion and all its institutions, they exhibit the same ardent and efficient spirit. As the natural consequence of all this, the islands are undergoing, we may say have already undergone, a transformation which from its rapidity, seems wrought by the touch of a magician. Where only ten years since not a native knew a single letter of the alphabet, sixty thousand are now either able to read with ease, or are pupils in the schools. They have also now a written language, in which, from two presses connected with the mission, more than eleven millions of pages have been issued. A large part of the new testament is translated and published, and the remainder of the bible is in a rapid course of preparation. Eleven ordained ministers of Christ, break unto them the bread of life, and others are soon to be added to the number.

Of the correctness of the view we have now given of the progressive improvement of the islands and of the general influence of the mission, we are glad to say Mr. Stewart furnishes us with evidence which we dare aver every candid man must admit to be irrefragable. He has made a development of facts which shows, with a certainty which cannot be called in question, the origin of those base aspersions and abusive calumnies, which by the most dishonorable means,* have been sent forth into the world for the purpose of injuring the character and obstructing the usefulness of the mission; and upon which the enemies of the cause of truth have rung their charges with a malicious pleasure. There have always been at the islands foreigners, (and we are mortified at being obliged to say that many of them are Americans) residing there

* Our readers will recollect the famous letter of Gov. Boki, published in the London Quarterly. There may now be seen at the Mission House in Boston, a written denial under the hand of Boki, that he ever wrote, dictated, or saw the document.

for commercial and other purposes, who have manifested the most bitter hostility to the missionaries ; and who have labored most assiduously, not only to prevent the natives from regarding their instructions, but also, to poison the minds of visitors, who were not about to remain sufficiently long to become acquainted with the actual state of things, with false insinuations and reports in relation to their characters and designs. On the arrival of the Vincennes, two or three individuals of this class commenced in the usual strain, asserting at an interview with several of the officers, that the young Princess Harrietta, who was personally known to Mr. Stewart, as a member of the church of irreproachable character, was *notoriously* living in an incestuous connection with the king. The assertion was contradicted by Mr. Stewart at the time, and was afterward's stated to the chiefs, who immediately instituted a *public examination*, and *publicly proved* the charge to be utterly false and slanderous. This is only a single specimen of the spirit which is manifested in a thousand ways. The same persons evinced high displeasure at the fact, that the President should have presumed to send by Capt. Finch to the king and chiefs a letter, accompanied by a few presents, in which he expressed his approbation of the efforts of their teachers, and advised them efficiently to maintain the authority of government and law, and to cultivate industriously the arts of civilized life.

If it be asked to what the hostility of these men is to be attributed, the answer appears to be neither more nor less than this ; that while the natives were in a state of ignorance and moral degradation, they found it easy to overreach them in their traffic, and to lead among them an irregular and dissolute life. But now that, owing to the intelligence and virtue of the people, "the hope of their gains is gone," and their vicious practices are restrained, and this too through the influence of missionaries—it is too much to be borne with equanimity.

We might dwell longer on this topic and others connected with it, but our limits will not permit. The whole account of the visit at these islands is full of interest. The officers of the ship had an opportunity of attending worship on shore upon the sabbath—of witnessing public examinations of the schools—and a party visited the celebrated crater of Kirauea. All were gratified with the indications which they saw in their various excursions, of the improved social and moral condition of the people. Capt. Finch in a retrospect which he afterward wrote, and which is inserted in the work we are now reviewing, bears the most full and decided testimony to the happy influence of christianity ;—to the prudence and judicious conduct of the missionaries ; and, we may add, to the infa-

mous conduct of the foreign residents, on which we have animadverted above. On the whole, therefore, the evidence with which the visit of the Vincennes supplies us on these points, is unequivocal, impartial and complete. Capt. Finch, certainly, could have been under the influence of no predilection, and must have contemplated the facts presented only as a man of enlightened views and an unprejudiced mind. And Mr. Stewart, though he may be supposed to have felt an interest in the people from having resided and labored once among them, was yet in no way connected with the mission, and had the additional advantage of much local knowledge. We hope, that all who wish to obtain a clear and satisfactory view of the whole subject of the condition of the Polynesian world, and of the real character, extent, and results of missionary influence upon it, will attentively read this book. It affords a mass of information on this important subject, which is greatly needed, and which from its variety and extent, it is impossible to exhibit in a general abstract.

We shall not follow our author through the remainder of the voyage. The ship touched, according to her original destination, at Canton, the Phillipine Isles, the Cape of Good Hope, and St. Helena, and arrived at New-York on the eighth of June, 1830.

In conclusion, we take occasion to observe, that the comparative view which Mr. Stewart's work presents, of the condition of those islands to which the bible with its attendant blessings has been sent, and of those upon which the morning star has not yet arisen, appeals loudly to the christian world. In the former, it shows what may be accomplished by well-directed, persevering effort; in the latter, what needs to be done for thousands upon thousands of immortal beings, who though ready to receive the word of life, are passing away without it, an unblest existence: who know not where to look for consolation in the hour of anguish; who have no light but will go out in darkness at the grave—no hope but must then expire forever. O! will not the church address herself with new energy, to the work of heavenly mercy which is thus devolved upon her. Will she not labor and pray, that *all* the groups, scattered like "isles of the blest" over the vast bosom of the Pacific, may be dressed in moral as they are in natural beauty. In achieving so desirable a renovation, shall any pains be spared or any means neglected? In the words of the Athenian, in a far less urgent case, we would say, "let the rich be ready to contribute, and the young to take the field;" and we add, let learning bring hither her acquirements, and genius consecrate her powers. Now that the dew of heaven is descending so copiously upon the church, let her feel that it is in order that she may send forth her branches over all the earth. When such efforts shall be made, and such responsibility felt, the angel in

the midst of heaven will cry with a voice which shall echo to ocean's farthest waters,

Wake! Isles of the south, your redemption is near,
No longer repose in the borders of gloom;
The strength of his chosen in love will appear,
And light shall arise on the verge of the tomb.

ART. VIII.—CASE OF THE REV. MR. BARNES.

The way of Salvation, a Sermon by the REV. ALBERT BARNES.

THE case of the Rev. Albert Barnes before the presbytery of Philadelphia, has awakened a painful interest in almost every part of the United States. Believing, as we do, that the treatment which he has received from some truly pious men, has resulted from an undue attachment on their part to certain technical terms and philosophical opinions in theology; and that Mr. Barnes, while he employs other terms and adopts a different system of mental and moral science, agrees with his opponents in all those cardinal doctrines of the gospel, which they are so properly anxious to defend; we hope it will not be thought obtrusive in the Christian Spectator, to offer a few remarks designed to promote a spirit of concession upon minor points, between men who are all devoted to the same great cause of evangelical truth and holiness.

If there ever was a period when such an appeal ought not to be made in vain, when the Presbyterian and Congregational churches of our country were called upon, as by a voice from heaven, to lay aside all contentions, and to walk together in mutual forbearance, that period is the present. On the continuance of harmony among these churches, and among the men of influence who control their counsels, are suspended nearly all the momentous interests involved in the operations of the American Bible, and Tract Societies, the Sunday School Union and the Board of Foreign Missions; for it is well known, that nine tenths of all the money and effort devoted to these noble objects of benevolence, are contributed by the churches to which we have alluded above. On these churches, too, at the present period, the influences of the Holy Spirit are descending with a power and copiousness, entirely without a parallel since the great revival of religion nearly a century ago; and we need not say, that nothing is so fatal to the continuance of such influences, as party strife and personal animosities between men, who are bound by their profession to walk together in love. We hope, then, it will not be thought unkind or improper to remind those who seem bent on driving Mr. Barnes from the

presbytery of Philadelphia, that they are taking upon themselves a responsibility of no ordinary character; since the principles on which they act, if carried out into full operation, must create a total disruption in the Presbyterian Church throughout the United States, and a consequent sacrifice, to an immense extent, of some of the dearest interests of the Redeemer's kingdom, both at home and abroad.

We state the subject thus strongly, because every one, we suppose, understands, that the case of Mr. Barnes is not that of an individual merely. The real question at issue is, *whether New-England Calvinism shall any longer be tolerated in the Presbyterian Church of this country.* It is well known that a party in that church,—and we are far from wishing to impeach their motives,—have long witnessed with jealousy and apprehension, the rapid progress of New-England sentiments within the bounds of their communion. At length, as if resolved to try the question under circumstances the most unfavorable to themselves, they have taken their stand in the case of a gentleman, whose ministrations were recently followed by one of the greatest revivals of religion ever known in this country; who was called from the former scene of his labors to the city of Philadelphia, by the unanimous choice of one of the oldest and most distinguished churches of our land; and who brought with him from the presbytery to which he previously belonged, the amplest testimonials to his piety and worth, to the soundness of his faith, and the fervor of his zeal in the cause of evangelical religion. As far, then, as the character of the individual, his former standing in the church, and the wishes of his people are concerned, it is impossible to conceive of any case, where an impeachment could be less called for or expected, than the present. The attack on Mr. Barnes is, therefore, a warfare against *principles*; and the question is now to be decided, whether any and every man may be driven from the Presbyterian Church under the painful imputation of *heresy*, simply for maintaining opinions in which he is supported by the names of DWIGHT and FULLER; and in which he coincides with the thousand clergy of New-England, and more than half that number in the Presbyterian Church itself.

In considering this question, it will be proper to advert, for a moment, to the doctrines in which Mr. Barnes and his opponents agree; and then to examine those in which they differ.

From the published writings of Mr. Barnes, and, indeed, from the sermon before us, it appears that he agrees with his accusers in maintaining the doctrine of the Trinity, the decrees of God, the entire depravity of man by nature, the vicarious atonement of Christ, and justification through faith in his blood; of regeneration by the

direct and special influences of the Holy Spirit, of personal election, of the final perseverance of the saints, and the eternal punishment of all who die impenitent.*

The points on which Mr. Barnes differs from his opponents, may be reduced to three.

I. He denies the doctrine of **LIMITED ATONEMENT**; and maintains, that the sacrifice of Christ, was, in its own nature, *applicable* to every individual of our race.

II. He denies the doctrine of **PHYSICAL DEPRAVITY**, and maintains that man's only inability to perform his duty, consists in an aversion of the *will*.

III. He denies the doctrine of **IMPUTATION**; and maintains that *punishment*, in the proper sense of the term, is inflicted by God, solely on the ground of personal *ill-desert*.

On the two first points, our remarks shall be brief. If Mr. Barnes is to be driven from the Presbyterian Church for maintaining, that the atonement is in its nature *applicable* to all men, and that man's inability consists in an aversion of *will*, the passages must be pointed out in the Confession of Faith, which condemn these doctrines, and assert the opposite. In respect to the former of these doctrines, Mr. Barnes says, "I may safely challenge any man, to point out the place in the whole book, where it is affirmed, that the work of Christ in its *original applicability* is necessarily confined to any number or class of men." This challenge has not been met, and never can be. Mr. Barnes however is far from denying that there is a limitation in respect to the atonement. But this limitation belongs not to its *applicability*, or sufficiency, but to its actual application, by the renewing influence of the Spirit. The following remarks, which he makes in his answer before the Synod of Philadelphia, ought to be entirely satisfactory to every one on this point.

To the Redeemer's sufferings and death contemplated apart from the actual purpose to apply his merits, I chose, in accordance with many writers, to apply the word *atonement*. The actual application of his work, I supposed might be appropriately expressed by the word *redemption*. It was not thought that this was a departure from scripture usage. The word *atonement* occurs but once, as applicable to the death of Christ in the new testament; the word *redemption* often, and this latter word it is supposed

* We are aware, that the opponents of Mr. Barnes have charged him with not believing in the doctrine of justification by faith alone, because that doctrine was not distinctly brought forward in his sermon. But surely we are not to look for a whole body of divinity in a single discourse. Besides it is involved in the doctrine, that men are justified solely by grace through the blood of Christ. This is the doctrine of justification by faith insisted on by Paul, as opposed to justification by works. Mr. Barnes in his answer before the Synod of Philadelphia, has given his fullest assent to the doctrine of justification by faith alone.

always with reference to the purpose to apply it. It did not seem then to be a gross violation of the scripture usage to describe by the word atonement a thing which may and must be contemplated—the highest and best gift of God—the sufferer, the bleeding victim, the atoning sacrifice; still less can it be seen how this usage can be construed into an offense against the Confession of Faith. In all our standards of doctrine the word *atonement* never occurs. Nor is it the purpose of the standards to describe the *thing* which I wished to express by the word—the original independent applicability of the sufferings of Christ. The Confession of Faith states only its *application*. For that it uses the word redemption. It affirms of that, that it is limited—and was intended to be limited. *That* the sermon never denied—and by what rule the protestants have arraigned me, for using a word not in the Confession of Faith, and in a sense in which I chose to use it in accordance with the best writers; and used in describing a thing which the Confession does not profess to describe but which it in no instance denies; how this can be a grave offense against our standards does not appear. If this is the measure by which justice is to be meted out every where, it will not be difficult to find crimes under the most orthodox exterior, and heresy, where any order of men may have an insatiable thirst to find it.

On the second point, viz. that man's only inability consists in aversion of will, Mr. B. appeals to the Confession of Faith, chap. ix. v. 2, 3. "Man in his state of innocency had power to will and to do that which is good and well pleasing to God. Man by his fall into a state of sin, hath wholly lost all ability of *WILL*, to any spiritual good accompanying salvation, so as a natural man being altogether *AVERSE* from that which is good, and dead in sin, is not able by his own strength to convert himself."

On this extract from the Confession, Mr. Barnes makes the following remarks, in his answer before the Synod.

In this passage the following things are thought worthy of observation.

1. That here is an express and formal definition of what the framers of the constitution meant by *inability*. This is the object of the chapter—to explain the state of man since the fall, in reference to obeying the law of God.
2. That they expressly affirm that the difficulty is in *THE WILL*, "having lost all ability of *will*."—Nor do they mention any other difficulty or obstacle in the way of man's conversion, but what lies in *the will*. That is, evidently implying that if *the will* were right there were no other obstacle; which is the same as saying, in the language of the sermon, that the "only reason why sinners are not converted, is because they *will* not be."
3. That the effect of the fall is to render them *averse* to holiness, "being altogether *averse* from that which is good."—And 4. That this aversion is the definition and guage of man's inability. "Being *averse* from that which is good, is *NOT ABLE*," etc. Now they evidently meant to say that man's aversion to holiness was the cause, the measure, and the extent of his inability. Nor is any other cause mentioned. It is true the words *unable*, *inability*, etc. are elsewhere used in the Confession. But it is a fair rule of interpretation, that when a word has been expressly and formally defined, it is to be understood elsewhere in the same book subject to the definition.

It is certainly possible, that a man reading the word *unable* in the Con-

fession, may have learned to suppose that it meant *all kinds of inability* possible, and having done so, will be likely to charge every man with heresy, who was so unfortunate as to take his view from the place where the word is formally defined. Nor would any reference to the proper place of defining, save from the anathemas of set and formal "protestations." The author of the sermon, supposed that the framers of the Confession were honest men; that when they formally *define* a word they adhere uniformly to that definition; that when the word occurs in the standard it is to be taken subject to the limitations which they themselves have affixed to it. In the case before us, he supposes that they have formally, in the proper place, defined men's inability as consisting in *the will*; that it is because man is *averse* to holiness, that he does not obey God; that this *aversion* is the measure of his inability. Nor do they ever refer to any other notion of inability than this. And it is believed still, that the true doctrine of the Confession of Faith, as it is of the bible, and the sermon, is that the reason why men do not repent, and believe, is because they *will not* come to Christ that they might have life. It is not a little remarkable, that the Protestants should have referred to *the very passage* in the Confession of Faith, which teaches the identical doctrine contained in the sermon; and should then have declared their unwillingness to receive a man who believes it. And it is not less wonderful, that men skilled in cautious and experienced polemics, should have ventured their names on an accusation of heresy, and adventured formal charges of guilt, to be preserved on the records of the Presbytery, for maintaining a doctrine *in the very words of the Confession of Faith*.

To these statements respecting the two first point at issue, we see not what answer can be given.

In relation to the third point, Mr. Barnes frankly acknowledges that as he understands that formulary, he *has* departed from the Confession of Faith. The Larger Catechism declares, that "all mankind SINNED *in* him (Adam) and FELL *with* him in that first transgression." This is the doctrine of *imputation* as held by the old Calvinists. The meaning of the passage is perfectly plain. No language can declare more expressly, that Adam's *act* with its *ill-desert*, were truly and properly that of his descendants.

Now it is well known to the public, that Mr. Barnes is not alone in rejecting this doctrine, as thus understood. We believe there is scarcely an individual in the Presbyterian church who maintains it. It is disclaimed in behalf of Presbyterians by the conductors of the Biblical Repertory; under whom, as professors of the theological seminary of the Presbyterian church, Mr. Barnes received his education for the ministry. They choose indeed to retain the *term* imputation, but they use it in a sense totally different from that in which Mr. Barnes employed it, when he denied that doctrine. They perfectly agree with him and their New-England brethren in declaring that the act and ill-desert of Adam's sin, do *not* "strictly," "truly," or "properly" belong to his descendants. What difference then remains on this point between Mr. Barnes and New-England men on the one hand, and the respected instructors of the theological seminary of the Presbyterian church on

the other? We have more than once stated, that in our view the difference consists chiefly in *words*,—that in the *things* intended there is a substantial agreement. Our brethren of the Biblical Repertory have not been willing to admit this statement;* and we think it important, therefore, at the present moment to examine the subject at large. If Mr. Barnes can be shown to differ from the professors at Princeton only in *words* on this subject, many jealousies will certainly be removed.

Here, however, it is important to form precise and accurate views of the subject under discussion,—what it includes, and what it does not include. The subject, then, is, the consequences of Adam's sin to his posterity; and may be reduced to two heads, 1. The *fact* that certain consequences of Adam's sin come on his posterity; and 2dly, The *mode* or *manner* in which these consequences are entailed upon us. What these particular consequences are, is no part of the inquiry. As the Repertory says, p. 463, "it matters not what this evil is, whether temporal death, corruption of nature, certainty of sin, or death in its more extended sense; if the ground of the evil's coming on us is Adam's sin, the principle is the same."

Still less does the present question extend to the more *specific* nature of these consequences. Whether for example, the sin of the posterity consists in a created property of the soul, or in a free moral preference or choice of forbidden good, or in a *tertium quid* which is neither a physical property, nor a mental exercise or act, but some mental state, which, like what we call skill, results from the *exercise* of the physical properties;—whether the connection between Adam's sin and certain evils to his posterity, can be *shown* to be consistent with God's moral perfection; what precise relation this fact holds to the important doctrines of atonement and justification, etc.,—these are inquiries entirely without the range of the present question. And yet, so far as we can discover, the method adopted by our brethren of the Repertory in their No. for July 1830, to show that the present is not a dispute about words, consists in showing that there is a disagreement on these *specific* questions; that is, as it seems to us, they prove that we disagree on *this* subject, by showing that we differ on *other* subjects of an entirely diverse nature.

These remarks exhibit the importance of deciding with precision, what the points are in respect to which an agreement is claimed. What we claim then is, that there is an agreement between New England men and their Princeton brethren, First, as to the *fact* that certain evils come upon Adam's posterity as the consequence of his sin; and, secondly as to the *mode* of this consequence.

* Number for July, 1830.

First in respect to the fact. And here the way to our conclusion is a very short one, viz, our brethren's explicit assertion of the agreement claimed. They say, speaking of New England divines, "They agree with us also in saying, that the descendants of Adam suffer the consequences of his fall." p. 462. Our brethren it is true immediately go on to say, "What these consequences *are* is a subject on which there is a great diversity of opinion." They then proceed to state these specific points of difference, and dwell on them at some length. But we ask, what has this to do with the present question? Who has supposed or asserted, that a diversity of opinion does not exist, in respect to these specific points? But how does this affect the alleged and conceded agreement, in the general position, *that the descendants of Adam suffer the consequences of his fall?* When such an agreement is freely admitted by our brethren, we regret that they should seem at least to deny it, by introducing other topics, which are irrelevant to the point at issue. As to the fact, then, that the descendants of Adam suffer the consequences of his fall, we have our brethren's express assertion of an agreement. Enough then on this point. The parties are agreed.

We now pass to consider the *mode* or manner of the connection between Adam's sin and its consequences to his posterity. One of the more prominent views on this point, has been that which we suppose to be held forth in the Westminster Catechism, as quoted above. It consists in maintaining that Adam and his posterity, by a *peculiar conjunction*, were constituted *one man* or *one moral person*; that the posterity were considered as being *in him* their common father, when he sinned, and to have themselves committed that sin; and that thus they were involved in its ill-desert and its legal penalty. In this scheme, it is of course implied, that the evils which came on the posterity, came in *the way* or in *the mode* of a strictly legal process; that the evils were *the legal penalty due to sin*, and as such were inflicted on the ground, that the first sin of Adam was in *its ill-desert*, the sin of all his posterity. Now this *mode* of consequence, the New England divines, for more than sixty years have generally denied, and strenuously opposed; and maintained simply in respect to *the mode*, that if Adam sinned, all his posterity according to God's sovereign constitution, would be subjected to sin and death. By the sovereignty of God here spoken of, these divines have not intended that God ordained things thus without good and sufficient reasons; or that none of these reasons are within the limits of human conjecture. But they maintain that God has not seen proper to reveal those reasons, and of course, that we are not authorized to assert, that those evils come on Adam's posterity, in execution of a legal sentence, or in the way of retributive justice for their ill-desert. That such are the views of

the New-England divines on this part of the subject, we do not think it necessary to attempt to prove. The fact will be admitted.

We now affirm, *that such is the view of this subject—the sum total of the doctrine on this point—which is held by our Princeton brethren.* The proposition to be considered consists of two parts, negative and positive. The negative denies, that the ill-desert of Adam's sin belongs to his posterity. The positive affirms, that the consequences of Adam's sin come on his posterity by God's sovereign constitution.

We remark then, that our Princeton brethren in common with their New-England friends, deny and reject the position, that the ill-desert of Adam's sin belongs to his posterity. They not only complain of the injustice of those who have charged such a doctrine on themselves and others, but the whole scope of what they have written, is to show, that it is no part of their doctrine. Their language on the point, is peculiarly direct and explicit. They state in the strongest and most explicit terms that Adam's 'first act of transgression was *not* strictly and properly, that of his descendants.' p. 90. They tell us again and again, 'that *community in action, transfer of moral character*, are no part of the doctrine.' p. 438,—that their doctrine "includes neither the idea of any mysterious union of the human race with Adam, so that his sin is strictly and properly theirs, nor that of a transfer of moral character." p. 448. They deny that 'the moral turpitude of that sin was transferred to us, and even *the possibility* of any such transfer.' p. 436. They tell us that "*imputation* does not involve a transfer of moral acts or moral character, that the ill-desert of one man cannot be transferred to another." p. 90, 91. Now this is the New-England doctrine on this point. Dr. Dwight says, "Moral actions are not, so far as I can see, transferable from one being to another. The personal act of any agent is in its very nature, the act of that agent solely, and incapable of being participated by any other agent. Of course the guilt (ill-desert) of such a personal act is equally incapable of being transferred or participated." Taking this then as the New-England doctrine, in what respect could the agreement between the parties on this point, be more absolute?

But again, our brethren agree with their New-England friends in maintaining, that the consequences of Adam's sin come on his posterity, *according to God's sovereign constitution.* They fully admit, that the consequences of Adam's sin come on his posterity by a divine constitution, or appointment. The only possible question is, why did God adopt this constitution, why determine to bring these evils on the posterity? And here, as we have seen, our brethren are careful to exclude all *ill-desert* on the part of Adam's descendants, as the reason of God's determination; for according

to their scheme, no previous ill-desert belongs to those descendants, which *can* be the ground or reason of these evils.

Again, our brethren will not say, that these evils come on Adam's posterity on the ground of any *consent* or *stipulation* on their part, (either expressed or implied,) to be held responsible for the act of their progenitor. It is true, indeed, that they illustrate their views of imputation by the case of Paul and Onesimus, and by that of a corporation. But then in the former instance, they very properly state, that it was *by the voluntary assumption*, of the responsibility of Onesimus; and they directly oppose this *mode*, to that in which the consequences of Adam's sin come on his posterity. A similar ground of responsibility, viz. assent, they would undoubtedly admit exists in respect to the individuals of a corporation. But be this as it may, the Repertory will not pretend, that any prior consent or stipulation is the ground or reason on the part of the posterity, why God determined or appointed, that they should be subject to the consequences of Adam's sin. Here then, we see that our brethren *exclude* every thing from this divine constitution, or appointment, which the New-England divines exclude from it. The fact cannot be accounted for, according to the Repertory's own statement, by the legal principle of rendering to every one according to his *own deserts*, nor by the principle of a *voluntary assumption* of another's responsibility. What account then can be given of this fact, except that God in his wise and holy sovereignty determined, that it should be so?

But this is not all. Our brethren evidently regard the fact, as incapable of any other solution. Thus they tell us, that there is "one difficulty, and it is the main one which presses all these schemes in common"—viz. that all mankind are made subject to the consequences of Adam's sin. Here, it seems is a *difficulty*—something beyond explanation, or which cannot be accounted for by any *known* principle or reason. Now this is exactly the New-England view of the matter. For what is the difficulty? If these evils are known to be inflicted by *retributive* justice, or according to the ill-desert of the subjects, then surely there is no difficulty. Every thing is explained and accounted for at once; for who finds any difficulty in assigning a reason for inflicting the *deserved* penalty of a just law? But such confessedly are not the evils in question. Hence the difficulty of accounting for them. In conceding this difficulty, therefore, the Repertory has conceded that no known reason can be assigned, sufficient to account for the infliction of these evils on the descendants of Adam. But this is the same thing, as to resolve the infliction into the sovereignty of God; which is the New-England doctrine.

We know, that our brethren call the evils in question, 'punish-

ment'—and 'legal penalty.' But to what purpose? Can names change things? Do they by this use of the word punishment change *the things* in the least iota, from what the New-England divines state in other language. What are *the things*? One is, that the subjects of these evils do *not deserve* them; another is, that they are the *consequence* of Adam's sin; and another is that they are inflicted according to a determination of God, for which no known *reason* can be assigned. Such are the views of the New-England divines, and such are the views maintained in the Repertory. These are *the things*, and in respect to these, the agreement is perfect.

What then remains? We answer; SOLELY A DISPUTE ABOUT WORDS.

This indeed follows, as an unavoidable conclusion, from what we have now proved, viz. *an agreement in things*. For what is plainer than that to call things by different names, cannot change the things themselves.

If then we have correctly stated the things which belong to the present discussion, and shown that in respect to these, there is an exact agreement, it is not possible that any question should remain, except a question about the *terms* by which they are to be designated. This is surely too plain, to require a further thought.

But we shall advert to that language of the Repertory, by which, if at all, the writers describe things diverse from those, which the New-England divines admit to be real. Our object is to show, that their language interpreted according to their own explanations of terms, and their own statements of their opinions, expresses nothing diverse from the opinions of the New-England clergy.

In the first place we advert to their use of the word *impute*, or *imputation*. Now, as we have seen, our brethren most explicitly deny, that they mean, when speaking of the imputation of Adam's sin to his posterity, any transfer of moral character or moral acts, or that the ill-desert of Adam's sin belongs to his posterity. They mean simply that the posterity of Adam are made *liable* to the consequences of his sin. But this, as we have seen, is fully admitted by their New-England friends. What then is the point of disagreement? Not whether the ill-desert of Adam's sin becomes the ill-desert of his posterity. Both say, there is no truth in that. Not whether the posterity are made liable to the consequences of that sin. This is affirmed by both. The only question is, whether thus to subject men to the consequences of Adam's sin, is properly called the *imputation* of that sin? On this point, the one affirms; and the other denies. And this surely is a dispute about a word only.

The same thing is substantially true respecting the word *guilt*. The Repertory claims that this word, as applied to the present

subject denotes simply *liability* to the consequences of Adam's sin. The fact of such liability is fully admitted by the New-England divines. They suppose however that the word *guilt* is not properly used to denote such liability, and that it properly denotes *ill-desert* in the subject. What possible controversy then can exist on this point, except in regard to the proper import and application of the word *guilt*? None surely as to the fact, that Adam's posterity *are* liable to the consequences of his sin. The only possible question is, whether the word *guilt* is properly used to describe this fact.

Again, the Repertory asserts that the evils which come on the posterity of Adam as the consequences of his sin, are the *punishment* of that sin. But what is the meaning of this assertion? Not that these evils are inflicted on the posterity on account of any sin which is strictly and properly their own. This our brethren deny. Here then they exactly agree with their New-England friends. In what then do they differ? Not in the fact, that these evils are a consequence of Adam's sin; but simply and solely on the question, whether they are properly termed the punishment of the posterity. The Repertory maintains that evils coming on an individual without any sin of his own, and solely in consequence of the sin of another, are properly considered as the *punishment* of the individual for that sin. This, the New-England divines deny. The only difference, then, respects the proper use of the word *punishment*.

It seems somewhat singular, that the case should be so plainly one of merely verbal disputation, and yet that the Repertory, especially when the fact was clearly pointed out, should still so confidently affirm, that it is not a dispute about words. We give full credit to our brethren for the assertion of their belief. We have no doubt, that they regard the difference as real; nor is it difficult, we think, to account for their conviction on this point.

Explicit, then, as are their statements and their explanations of of the term *imputation*, it is still true, that our brethren often employ forms of phraseology, which according to all correct usage, present a very different view of the subject. Hence, we apprehend, without being aware of it, they actually, when using certain forms of expression, attach certain ideas to the doctrine of *imputation*, which in other very formal and explicit statements, they exclude from it. This we shall attempt briefly to illustrate and prove. It is, we believe, no uncommon fact in discussions of this nature.

Thus the Repertory says, "In *imputation* there is *first* an ascription of something to those concerned; and *secondly* a determination to deal with them accordingly." "When Paul begged Philemon to impute to him the debt or offense of Onesimus, he begged him to

regard him as the *debtor* or *offender*, and to exact of him whatever compensation he required." The Repertory also describes this as "laying the conduct of one to the charge of another, and dealing with him accordingly." p. 435. Thus too, they say, "we *fell* when he (Adam) *fell*," and speak of our being punished for the "*violation* of a covenant in which *we* were included."

Now we cannot for a moment subscribe to *this* view of imputation, in the cases referred to. If Philemon, in consequence of Paul's request, 'put that on mine account,' had soberly and as a *bona fide* accusation charged the *misconduct* of his runaway slave upon the apostle, and then on *this* basis demanded compensation, the apostle certainly would have considered the charge as slanderous. All that Paul meant was, not that he was to be considered as chargeable with the misconduct of the servant in any sense, but solely as under obligation, by virtue of an engagement, to redress the wrong. If our brethren should say, that they have explicitly asserted and in very formal statements, that by the imputation of the act of one to another, nothing is meant, but simply *making liable* to the consequences of the act, we know it; and we have no doubt, that this is all they did mean, at the time of making such statements. But what did they mean, *when* making the statements just quoted? Do not these statements *express* something more than mere liability to the consequences of the act? Does not the Repertory say, that *two* things are included in imputation, if language can possibly say this? Have we not a *first* and a *second*? first the ascription, the **CHARGING** of the *conduct*; and secondly a determination to *deal* accordingly? And was it possible for the Repertory to use such language, without attaching to imputation, something *more*, than mere liability to the consequences of the conduct? Now we do not suppose that our brethren were aware of this fact, when they elsewhere used other phraseology, quite inconsistent with this. But we do think there is such inconsistency,—that their minds are led by certain customary *phrases* to attach more ideas to the word imputation, when they use these phrases, than they attach to it, when giving the formal explanations which we first quoted; and that is it through the influence of this mental illusion, that they imagine themselves to differ from their New-England friends in something more than mere words. Let them make the experiment. Let them abandon those forms of phraseology which express *two* very diverse things as included in imputation, and confine themselves to that which expresses but *one* thing, viz. making liable to consequences, and we are sure they will perceive, and rejoice to perceive, the very agreement in things with the New-England divines, for which we contend. And why should they not do this? If *imputation* when applied to the present case,

involves simply and solely a *making liable* to the consequences of another's act, why not define and use the term accordingly? Why should phraseology so diverse, be used to express the additional and very diverse idea, of *charging* an act on him who has never done it? Is charging the act one thing; and holding liable to its consequences another thing? If not, then why so tenacious of phraseology which exhibits them as two things? If they are two things, then we ask, is charging the act on one as having done it, when yet he has never done it, a true or a false charge? If false, does the God of truth make the charge? If our brethren will look steadily at these questions and answer them; if they will abandon all those forms of expression which designate two things, when there is confessedly but one thing; we are persuaded that they will see, that the protracted and unhappy controversy respecting the imputation of Adam's sin, is only a controversy about words.

Here we might stop. For, we persuade ourselves, that we have made good the ground, which we took in the beginning of this discussion. We have shown, if we are not deceived, that while our brethren of the Repertory have departed, on the subject of imputation, from the standard of orthodox writers, whom they cite as authorities, they agree most exactly in respect to *things* with their New England friends, and differ from them only in the use of words. And if we have shown this, we think we have rendered no trivial service to the cause of truth and practical godliness, at the present moment. We have shown that there is good and sufficient reason, why all controversy on this subject as one which involves doctrinal truth, as well as the zeal which becomes such controversy, should cease; and that all personal alienation, and judicial anathemas, should be exchanged for the "unity of the spirit in the bonds of peace."

And here we should in fact stop, did we not think, that some undue attachment to favorite phraseology, might be diminished by exhibiting the impropriety of its use. It is natural to become strongly attached to those very words and phrases, in which the able and successful defenders of the faith, have stated and triumphantly maintained the great doctrines of our religion. It is right that it should be so; perpetuity in these forms of language, contributes in no small degree to the perpetuity of truth. But it is unfortunate, if in any case language has changed its ordinary import, or if by means of it error has been combined with truth, that from an attachment to words, we should not yield to prevalent usage, or refuse to abandon a term, when the separation of error from truth plainly demands it. Few, it is believed, in this age, would be willing to retain much of the language of the reformers on the "slavery of the will," not because what was meant by it was false, but because according to modern usage, the terms do not express the things intended. So

if the word *imputation*, applied to describe the connection between Adam's sin and its consequences to his posterity, did in fact denote as used by the older writers, and does still in its proper import denote what all now agree in rejecting, the reason is imperious for dispensing with such an application of the word. Any terms or phrases whatever, in respect to which these remarks apply, ought most clearly to be laid aside. To use language in popular discourse, when propounding the great doctrines of revelation, in any other sense than that which it has acquired in popular use, is a real evil. It misleads the people. They give their own meaning to language; and are right in so doing. The error is in the writer or speaker, and consists in not conforming to that use which is prevalent among the people. The consequence is, that they understand him to teach what he does not intend to teach. Nor is it, in such cases, of much avail to resort to definitions and explanations of the peculiar import, in which the words are used. The people are very little accustomed to these logical safeguards; and are quite sure to associate the ordinary meaning with their own prevailing phraseology. It will be in vain for popular purposes, that our brethren speak of the *imputation* of Adam's sin or *guilt* to his posterity, and of their being *punished* for his sin by the Supreme Lawgiver, to express merely the idea that we are *liable* or *subject* to certain evils in consequence of that sin. No dictionaries, no usage known to the people, will bear the messenger of God out, in this phraseology. The fundamental principles of interpretation, which ought and must govern in all such cases, are violated. It is unknown in the annals of equitable moral legislation, that any law ever doomed one to bear, without his consent at least, the legal penalty of another's crime; or that the word *imputation* in such cases ever included the two ideas of *charging* the crime itself, and also holding *responsible* for its penal consequences; or the word *guilt* excluded ill-desert; or *legal penalty*, denoted an evil consequential on any thing but personal crime. Even if in some cases, another import *can*, by definitions and explanations, be secured to the language, still in a great majority of instances, it will be understood in a sense, which involves the government of God in injustice and oppression.

If, then, we convince our brethren that they use the words in question out of their popular and proper import, we doubt not they will consider themselves as bound, at least in all popular discourse, to abandon their use of these words.

After what we have said of the words *guilt* and *imputation*, we shall confine our remarks to the word *punishment*. The position we take is; *that evils inflicted on one being without crime or ill-desert of his own, and solely on account of the sin and offense of another, are not PROPERLY called punishment, in respect to the former.*

By this, however, we do not mean, that a writer, or speaker may not turn a word out of its *proper* import, and even use it in any sense he pleases, provided that by *definition* or other legitimate evidence he shows clearly and decisively, what his real meaning is. The expediency however of doing this, especially in popular instruction, is, for the reasons given above, more than doubtful. When we say, that the above import of the word *punishment*, is not its *proper* one, we mean that it is not that import which words acquire by general and customary usage, and which constitutes their fixed and definite signification, so far as the words themselves are concerned.

In the first place, then, we appeal to the common judgment of mankind. This is an authorized appeal, since to deny it to be so, is to deny that there is any fixed and common law in respect to the interpretation of language. We ask then, who, on hearing the word *punishment* used in a case, in which there was no evidence that it was used out of its ordinary import, would or could doubt, that it was used to denote evil inflicted on its subject for some crime or offense of his own? We think no one. But if this is so, then this is the popular import of the word; nor can its use in any other sense be justified, unless some attendant and decisive evidence be furnished by the writer or speaker that he employs it in another sense. The *proper* import then,—the import which general usage gives to the term *punishment* is, that it is an evil inflicted on its subject on account of *his own* ill-desert.

Secondly, Allowing that theological writers have used the word *punishment*, in the import claimed by our brethren, it is not its *proper* import. Such a use, be it more or less extensive, is, when compared with general usage, a mere sectarian or party use. Besides, if theologians have used the word in this manner, they must have furnished *some evidence* of the fact, over and above the mere use of the word itself, otherwise the word must be understood in its ordinary sense. If they have furnished such evidence by definition or otherwise, then they have,—and the attendant evidence shows that they have,—turned the word out of its *proper* import. Thus the very fact alledged by the Repertory, if it is a fact, is decisive, that the *proper* import of the word is that for which we contend. Such a use of the word, is plainly a peculiar, sectarian, or party use, and widely diverse from that general usage, which constitutes “the law in such matters.” But,

Thirdly, That class of orthodox theological writers, to whom the Repertory refers as authorities, do not, we apprehend, use the word, in the manner claimed. Here, the question is not, whether these writers apply the term *punishment* to the evils which men suffer in consequence of Adam’s sin; but did they so apply the term without supposing us truly to share in the ill-desert of Adam’s

act? Turretin, "who is second to no man as an authority," says, "The justice of God does *not* inflict PUNISHMENT, except on him that *DESERVES* it." Dr. Owen, who we suppose would be ranked next at least to Turretin, says, "The *guilt* of sin is its *desert* of punishment. And where there is not *this*,—there can be no punishment PROPERLY SO CALLED." p. 280. Again he says, "One may *suffer* on the occasion of the sin of another, that is no way made *his*; but he cannot be *punished* for it; for *punishment* is the recompense on account of its guilt. And were it possible, where is the righteousness of *punishing* one for that which no way belongs to him?" p. 507. This, we should think, would satisfy our brethren in respect to the use of the word *punishment*, by "the most accurate theological writers."

Fourthly, We infer the same thing from an important concession of the Repertory in the following passage, "We admit, in its full force, that it is a general principle of the divine government, that every man shall bear his own burden." p. 459. We might here ask, how is this the *general* principle of the divine government, when, according to the Repertory, the *opposite* principle of bearing another's burden, is actually adopted in respect to every child of Adam? But be this as it may, the question is, how can *both* these principles be adopted as *legal* principles, in the administration of legal or retributive justice. We have no difficulty in seeing how God as a *providential* governor, may bring evils upon one, even in kindness to him, as the consequence of another's conduct. But we cannot see how as a *moral* governor, in the administration of *law*, according to the strict principles of justice, he can sometimes adopt one principle and sometimes its opposite, in inflicting the legal penalty. The general principle of God's legal administration, according to the Repertory, is, that legal penalty shall come *exclusively* on the sinner himself. This of course is the principle of righteousness; it is what retributive justice in a moral governor requires. The opposite is, of course, what retributive justice forbids. Is then this opposite principle by which every child of Adam bears another's burden, to be admitted to be a *legal* principle?—a principle of law and *retributive justice*? Is it the general principle of God's moral administration, that the legal penalty shall come exclusively on the sinner himself, and not on another; is this the principle demanded and enforced by eternal righteousness, and yet it is violated by the supreme sovereign in respect to every child of Adam, by causing every one to bear the legal penalty due to another? Would not such violations of such a principle, be enough to destroy all confidence in the perfection of God's legal administration? We should say, with unhesitating confidence, that these two opposite principles cannot obtain as princi-

ples of *law*, without involving all principles in doubt and uncertainty. Of course, either God's moral administration cannot be, we think vindicated, or the fact that one suffers in consequence of the sin of another must be resolved into some other principle than that of law ; must be justified on some other ground, and accounted for in some other way, than that of inflicting a legal penalty ; must be regarded as something widely diverse from punishment.

Fifthly, The same thing may be argued from the necessity of some term, to distinguish *penal* evils from other evils. It certainly will not be pretended, that all evil, come how it may, be its design or end what it may, is the penalty of the divine law. It has been common with divines to regard the present life as a state, not of retribution but of trial, and its evils rather as disciplinary and corrective, than retributive and penal. Some of these evils at least are the chastisements of paternal love, inflicted for our profit ; and though the *consequences* of sin, it will not be claimed that they constitute the legal penalty due to its ill-desert. Believers, the very heirs of glory, suffer and die, and yet are delivered from the curse of the law. Be it so, that all the evils brought on the human race, are in some way the consequence of sin. Does this prove, that there is no difference in the *design* of these evils ? Can it be supposed for a moment, that those evils which in their primary design enter into a system of moral discipline adapted to reclaim the wicked, or which are brought on the children of God to make them partakers of his holiness, and to work out for them a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory, have no other design or end, than that of inflicting the very curse of the law ? Or can it be supposed, that a difference so wide and so palpable, should be recognized by no distinctive terms ? Have we no words to mark the difference between evils which are the proofs of divine love, and those which are the expressions of divine wrath ? And if the latter are the legal curse, the penal evils due to sin, are the former also the same thing, and to be described by the same language ? Surely, it were impossible, that such a difference should exist and be known to any people, and not be marked by the most accurate, distinctive phraseology. What then are the terms in our language which express and distinguish those evils, which constitute the *sanction of law* ? If *punishment*, and especially if *legal penalty*, does not, we have no terms or phrases which do ; and the evils, which are felt under the retributive vengeance of the Almighty, are undistinguished in name, from those which are the expressions of divine love in a world of mercy and of hope.

Sixthly, The same thing is evident from the *known design* of a legal penalty. The entire plausibility of our brethren's reasoning, on the subject before us, results, we think, from their overlooking

the fact, that all evil in the form of a legal penalty, has some *peculiar* design and relation, by which it is easily and certainly distinguished from all other evil which befalls us. Thus they say, "If the ground of the evil's coming on us is Adam's sin, the principle is the same." And this evil, 'the ground and reason of it being not our own sin, but the sin of Adam,' they say again and again, "is of the nature of punishment." pp. 463—5. Now we ask whether the principle will stand, that all evil which comes on one *as the consequence* of the sin of another, is the *legal penalty* of that sin? Are the wants and sufferings of the worthy and industrious tradesman, when brought on him as the consequence of another's knavery, the legal penalty due to the crime of the villain who occasioned them? Does the martyr on the rack or in the flames, suffer the punishment due to the crime of his executioners in inflicting his sufferings? Surely this will not be pretended. The principle is not correct, therefore that evil which comes on one *as the consequence* of another's sin, is always the legal penalty of that sin. There must be some *peculiarity* of relation and design, as to all evil in the form of legal penalty, by which it is easily and certainly distinguished from all other evil. It is also of essential importance to decide, what this peculiarity is, if we would determine what evils are *properly* called a legal penalty.

We proceed then to say, that to constitute an evil a legal penalty, *it must be threatened or inflicted, as an expression of the Lawgiver's displeasure toward the transgression of his law, and with the design or for the purpose of supporting his authority, and securing obedience, as the necessary means of the greatest good.* This view of the design or end of evil as a legal penalty, seems to us too plain and incontrovertible to need one word of argument or illustration in its support. We cannot think that our brethren will for a moment dissent from it.

But if such is the design or end of all evil in the form of legal penalty, then it is indispensable, that it be threatened or inflicted, as an expression of the Lawgiver's displeasure towards the transgressor, and with *exclusive* reference to *one's own* transgression of the law. This may be shown in many forms. In the first place, how can this design or end be answered, by inflicting evil on one who is *not* a transgressor, and without his consent? We are not saying that no benevolent end can be accomplished by bringing evil on one being, in consequence of the sin of another. But we ask, how can this *particular* end, viz. of supporting a lawgiver's authority, be accomplished by inflicting evil on him, who is not a transgressor? Shall we be told by *imputing* sin to him? But imputing sin, our brethren say, is merely holding one *liable* to the penal evil when he does not deserve it. And the very question is how can

this be done, and the *design* of threatening or inflicting penal evil be accomplished? Does the lawgiver show his displeasure against sin, and thus support his government, by inflicting evil on a being, without his consent, who has not yet violated any law? This may indeed show displeasure against the sufferer, but not displeasure against sin. To inflict evil, without his consent, on any being who has not yet sinned, is not to show displeasure against sin. The veriest tyrant might do this, and yet approve of sin; and do it too, for the purpose of promoting iniquity. Indeed, the only thing truly and properly expressed by such an act, is displeasure towards a being who is yet without offense. And can this be equitably done by one in the professed character of a lawgiver and judge, dealing with subjects according to their deeds? Is it said, that the evil thus inflicted for the sin of another, shows displeasure with the sin *of that other*? Be it so; then it is the punishment of *that* sin and of *him who committed it*, and not the punishment of him who endures the evil. For no displeasure is shown to the latter as a *sinner*, nor can be, for the plain reason, that not having violated the law as yet, he is not as yet a sinner. In respect to him, there is no expression of displeasure against sin, but against an unoffending sufferer. The lawgiver therefore, instead of expressing displeasure against sin and thus sustaining his authority, prostrates his authority and forfeits his right to reign. He shows in the most decisive manner possible, viz. by action, that it is not sin with its ill-desert which alone awakens and incurs his penal displeasure; but that to be entirely without offense is equally odious, and equally awakens the severity of his wrath. This done, and the truth is out, the fact is conspicuous and undeniable, that the lawgiver is destitute of all principle; that under his administration of law, there is no security that transgression alone will incur, and that innocence itself will not incur, the legal penalty, in its entire and unmitigated rigor. And now what respect is due to his character, what reverence to his authority, what right has he to occupy the throne of legislation and of judgment?

We appeal, then, to that decisive umpire, common sense, in support of the position which we have taken, viz., that it is essential *that all evil in the form or of the nature of legal penalty or punishment be threatened or inflicted, with exclusive reference to PERSONAL transgression of law*. We say, that this is one of those *first truths*, one of those universal judgments of the competent, unperverted reason of man, which are to be relied on as infallible. It is the *only* judgment on the subject, which human reason ever formed. It is a judgment, which can be traced to no mental perversion or bias, to prove it erroneous. In this respect it is beyond all suspicion. It is a judgment on a subject, on which the reason of man must be

competent to decide. To suppose that this universal judgment of the competent, unperverted reason of mankind, i. e. of common sense, is not a right judgment,—an infallible judgment, is to subvert all moral distinctions, and to render reason, in its most perfect exercise, of no use to man as a moral being. If we cannot rely on such a decision, we can rely on no decision of human reason; and can neither prove that there is a God, nor that we are bound to obey his will. We have, in that case, no premises to reason from, there being no known truth on which we can rely; and there is an end to all truth, for there is an end to all evidence and all knowledge. How can we judge of God's moral perfection, if we know nothing of right and wrong, and have no standard of judgment. How can we distinguish justice from injustice, righteous laws and righteous awards, from those which are unrighteous, if we do not know some infallible criterion? And what is this criterion, if not that which we have stated? What is justice in a Moral Governor, with respect to punishment, but a disposition or purpose to inflict it, as an expression of his displeasure with *personal* transgression, for the benevolent purpose specified? Let it once be made known that such is not the great principle of moral government in any community; that the opposite principle of inflicting the penalty of law on those who have not transgressed, or punishing them, not for what they have done, but for what others have done, and that thus all connection between crime and punishment is dissolved, and how would confidence in such a government be destroyed in a moment, and consternation fill the land? And is that principle of law, which connects punishment exclusively with personal transgression a false principle? Is there any mistake here? Not, we shall be told, in respect to human governments; not so far as the question would be decided by the unaided reason of man; but another principle of legal administration pertains to the divine government, and the Scriptures clearly recognize and reveal it? But do those who affirm this, duly reflect on what they say? Do they not at once set the word of God directly at variance with common sense, or with the universal decisions of the competent, unperverted reason of man? Do they not assume the task of defending God's revelation against the charge of doing violence to all reason and common sense, and thus furnish to the infidel as complete a triumph as he can ask? Are there no principles, no known and infallible truths by which the divine origin of Christianity is to be judged of? 'Are not the evidences of Christianity an appeal to the *reason* of men for its truth, and is not reason to judge of their force?'

* Alexander's Evidences. p. 3.

Here then we have touched one of the main points in the present controversy. If the Repertory can show that the design or end of legal penalty does *not* require, that it be inflicted exclusively on the transgressor of law, then it may be proper to call the evils which come upon us as a consequence of Adam's sin, the legal penalty of God's law. But if this cannot be shown, if the design of all penal evil, or legal penalty requires, that it be inflicted exclusively on the person of the transgressor, then the impropriety of calling these consequences a *punishment*, a legal penalty must be acknowledged.

It remains to consider our brethren's defense of the use of the word *punishment*; or, what is the same thing then, their *objections* to confining the word to evil inflicted for personal sin. These may be comprised in the following :

They object, 'that it militates with the providence of God.' We reply that the facts adduced in the Repertory are not at all to the purpose; and that not a solitary instance has been adduced nor can be, in which, under the providence of God, one being has been *punished*, or subjected to a legal penalty, solely on account of the sin of another. Here then, we ask where is the law which is enforced by such a penalty. Not the law given to Adam. This contains no mention of such penalty. "In the day thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die." Not the law given by Moses, at least as it was to be executed by earthly judges. This expressly recognizes the opposite principle. Vide Deut. xxiv. 16, II. Kings, xiv. 6. Not the law, as promulgated in the new testament. This will not be pretended. But our brethren refer us to God's "visiting the iniquities of the fathers upon the children." We appeal then to the statute itself, and ask, on *what* children? The law answers, "them that *hate* me." Exodus, xx. 5. Comp. verse, 6. Could the case be more decisively one of personal ill-desert? If our brethren reply, that the expression "them that hate me," denotes the parents and not the children; we reply, that the interpretation is gratuitous; that it is inconsistent with the contrast in the 6th verse, which describes the *character of the children*, to whom he would show mercy; and that it is contrary to plain matter of fact; for in Jer. xvi. 11. 12, we have an instance of the execution of this law, on children, who had "done worse than their fathers." The only examples to which the Repertory has referred, viz. Job xxi. 19. Jer. xxxiv. 19, (Comp. v. 19.) Sam. v. 17, are decisive cases, not of the infliction of evil without ill-desert in the subjects; but in which the evils fell upon the ill-deserving. How then does it appear that God in visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children, has ev-

er brought evil on the latter which they did not themselves deserve for their personal sin? This is the question.

But we have another thing to say. The infliction of evil on a being without personal ill-desert, carries no proof with it, that the evil is *penal*. We admit then the fact, that great evils in the providence of God, come on children in *consequence* of the sins of their parents; evils which, if our brethren please, follow in the way of punishment on the *parents*; and exclusive of all ill-desert on the part of the children. Still we maintain that they are not a punishment or legal penalty to *the children*; and though *in themselves* they are real and great calamities, they may be *on the whole* great blessings to the subjects, and be actually sent in mercy and not in wrath. Children may be cut off by premature death, and death to them be better than life. They may be afflicted with disease as the consequence of parental iniquity, and the affliction, as a part of that system of *moral discipline* which mercy appoints, be necessary to counteract the influence of bad parental example, when otherwise it would not have been needed. We say, then, that our brethren have adduced no *fact* to their purpose. Neither the case of Achan's children, nor that of the sons of Saul, nor that of Canaan, can be shown to be one in which the evil was a *legal penalty* to its subject. Nor can they adduce such a fact. For the case must be one in which there is personal ill-desert, or in which there is not. If the former, it is not a case to the purpose, because it is not a case exclusive of ill-desert in the subject. If the latter, the evil *may* be brought on the child, with some other design than that of inflicting,—even that of averting,—the legal penalty due to sin. It is to no purpose to say, that the evils are *in consequence* of parental iniquity. There are many *modes* of consequence, and many reasons for these providential connections between the sin of one and evil to another, beside those which pertain to the infliction of a legal penalty. That evils inflicted on children, as the consequence of parental sins, can be accounted for in no way, except by supposing them to come as a legal penalty on the children, is the point to be established; and to be established not by mere assertion, but by proof.

But says the Repertory, "We think no plainer case can be cited, or well conceived, than that of the fall itself. God threatened our first parent with certain evils in case of disobedience; he did disobey; the evil is inflicted not only on him, but on his posterity." p. 457. But we ask, was this so? Was the evil threatened in the law, actually inflicted on Adam? So far from it, that instead of inflicting the legal penalty, the gracious promise, that "the seed of the women should bruise the serpent's head," was the first annunciation from the lips of the offended lawgiver. Here then we have, not a

legal process, following the sin, and dooming to penal sanctions, but the promise of a Redeemer; not a sentence to bear the legal penalty, but redemption from that penalty. Will it then be said, that this proclamation of grace was instantly followed by the sentence of penal justice? But was man, thus redeemed, thus placed under an economy of grace, at the same time hopelessly doomed to bear the very penalty of law, from which he was thus reprieved by mercy? This is incredible—impossible. Nor, if we compare the legal penalty with the sentence actually pronounced, shall we fail to see, how entirely diverse is the one from the other. The penalty annexed to the law was "*thou shalt surely die.*" It was death, as the full retribution of sin. It was death *in sin*; and considered as the language of a Jewish historian, and as Jewish phraseology, perpetuated and fully explained in the New Testament, we can be at no loss concerning its comprehensive and awful import, when applied to an immortal being. But what was the sentence actually passed upon Adam under an economy of grace? Not thou shalt die—die under the curse of the law—die in sin—die hopelessly as an immortal being—not thou shalt actually depart from this world to the complete and endless misery threatened in the law: No—but, "*dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return.*" Who does not see the difference? By the law, man was hopelessly doomed to the extreme of misery, as an immortal being. By the sentence under grace, he was doomed to temporal death with other evils. Be these evils what they may, they actually came on Adam, and come on all men while living under an economy of grace, even on those who are *delivered from the curse of the law*. Yet our brethren tell us, the legal penalty was actually inflicted on Adam and his posterity!

But the Repertory proceeds, "It is admitted on all hands, that some evil is inflicted antecedently to personal ill-desert, it matters not what it is; it is evil inflicted by a judge in the execution of a sentence, and *that* is punishment." p. 467.

Here we have, what we esteem a fundamental error in the reasoning of our brethren. They assume that evil inflicted antecedently to personal ill-desert, and inflicted by a judge in the execution of a sentence, is and must be a legal penalty. But are not the facts in the case before us, decisive to the contrary? Is any thing clear from the record itself, if not that the evils included in the sentence in question, were in fact executed under an *economy of mercy*, and executed too, on many who are actually delivered from the curse of the law? And are these evils the legal penalty itself?

Our brethren ask, how can such evils, if they are not the legal penalty, be inflicted on those who have no personal ill-desert? We ask how they can be inflicted on such, if they *are* the legal penalty?

Will it be said, that if they are not the legal penalty, then no possible reason, can be assigned for the infliction? Be it so. And is that to be admitted as the true reason, which violates the plainest principles of legal equity, and decisively contradicts plain matter of fact, because *we* may not know the true reason? But says the Repertory "the evil is inflicted by a judge in execution of a sentence." But we ask, in execution of what sentence? Not that of the law; for this is contrary to plain matter of fact. But "it is inflicted by a judge." Be it so. But not by a judge executing *legal* sanctions; but a judge who has laid aside the terrors of legal majesty, and though he frowns, yet also assumes the smile of mercy to win back the rebellious to his favor. On what ground then have our brethren asserted, that the legal penalty was actually inflicted on Adam and his posterity? What and where is their proof? They have adduced none. Their assertion is contradicted by the record itself. The legal penalty was not inflicted. The sentence after the fall was not a sentence dooming man to bear that penalty, nor was its execution, the legal penalty.

Our brethren refer also, to what they regard as another fact in point, viz. the case of the Israelites in Ezk. xviii. Their complaint was, "the fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge;" that is, says the Repertory, "our fathers sinned and we are punished for it." p. 457. The same complaint was also made thus; "doth not the son bear the iniquity of the father." We fully agree with the Repertory that by this charge these wicked Israelites *meant*, 'our fathers have sinned, and we are *punished* for it.' The obvious design of the charge, shows that such was *their* meaning. But the question is not, whether this language as used by these wicked men, for the purpose of impeaching the justice of God, had this import. But the question is, did God *admit* the language to be *true*, in the import in which they used it? If not, then we may confidently conclude, that God never did *punish* the children for the sins of their fathers, and that the charge was utterly false and wicked. How then is the charge met? "The word of the Lord came unto me again saying, 'What *MEAN* ye, that ye use this proverb, concerning the land of Israel, the fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge?' Is not this the language of pointed reproof and unqualified condemnation, for using the proverb? And is this the manner of God with man for telling the truth? Was it a fact, that God did *punish* the children for the sins of the fathers, and did God *repel* the charge of this fact, with such severity of rebuke? Plainly this charge of these Israelites, which is the same thing with the doctrine of the Repertory, is disclaimed in the most pointed and solemn manner by God himself. True it may be that God declares,

that the peculiar course of providence, which as a national king he had adopted toward Israel, and which by their perversions had furnished the *occasion* of using the proverb, should at some future time cease. True it may be, that he exhibits the principle that 'the soul that sinneth it shall die,' as one which under a future dispensation, shall be liable to no such perversion. Jer. xxi. 29. But he also appeals to his *present* dealings, as a triumphant vindication from this charge of injustice, and rests his vindication on this very principle. Thus, after repeating this principle again and again, he says, "yet ye say, the way of the Lord is not equal. Hear now, O house of Israel, are not my ways equal? Are not *your ways unequal?*" And is God here conceding, that he had punished them without personal ill-desert on their part, and that he would act on a new principle and hereafter cease to be unjust? Where in the scriptures is personal iniquity made the ground of punishment, and where is the principle of judging men according to their *own* ways laid down, as that of the divine procedure, if not in this passage? Let the conclusion of the chapter answer; especially where God exhibits every man of them as responsible for his own perdition, by the overwhelming declarations, that they are voluntary self-destroyers, and that he has no pleasure in their death?

But says the Repertory, "Ezekiel cannot be so construed as to assert that no man ever has borne nor ever shall bear (i. e. be punished for) the iniquity of another; for this would make him contradict positively what is more than once asserted in the word of God." p. 458. We ask for one such assertion in the word of God. Our brethren have adduced none. Ezekiel then has denied, for aught that appears, that any man ever was, or ever shall be *punished* for the sin of another; and the only warrant for the contrary opinion is, that these wicked Israelites *falsely* charged the fact upon their Maker.

To the principle we advocate, it is likewise objected, that "it is anti-scriptural." Our brethren refer to the fifth chapter of Romans, and consider the apostle as there asserting the opposite principle.

Now we admit that in this passage the apostle argues from the universality of death, that all men are sinners, and as such under just condemnation. He teaches likewise that the sin of all, and death as its consequence, result from the sin of one man. But the question is, does he teach, that the death which is thus common to all men, is the *legal penalty to all, for Adam's sin*. It will then be sufficient for the present purpose to show,

First, that the apostle teaches that death, considered as an event common to all men, is *not a legal penalty*; and Secondly, that the sin, the universality of which he infers from the universality of death, is *actual* sin, and not the imputed sin of Adam.

First, The apostle teaches, that death considered as an event common to all men, is not a legal penalty. We suppose it will be admitted, that the apostle here refers to the sentence denounced after the fall upon Adam and his race, as disclosing the facts respecting his sin and its consequences. Here then we might rest our present position. For, as we have shown, (p.314,) that sentence was not the sentence of the *law*, nor was its execution the *penalty of the law*. Many die the death denounced in that sentence, who are delivered from the legal penalty. This we regard as absolutely decisive on the point now at issue.

But we are not obliged to leave the question here. The apostle, in the very passage under consideration, has directly and formally disproved the doctrine, that death comes on men as the *penalty* of any law whatever. He first asserts, that the sin which is in the world, came into it by one man. He next affirms, that death is by sin, and that death, as the consequence of sin, passed on all men, because all had sinned. In confirmation of this statement, he appeals to a known and acknowledged matter of fact, viz. that before the Mosaic law, sin was in the world. "But," he adds, "sin is not imputed where there is no law;" i. e. sin is not charged and punished, where there is no law. Nevertheless, death the *consequence*, (not the penalty,) of sin, prevailed from Adam to Moses,—a period in which there was no law of which death could be the penalty. Sin, therefore, was in the world, (as death its consequence decisively proves,) even when there was no law with death as its penalty. Thus, while the apostle decisively teaches that death is the consequence of sin, he proves that it is not the *legal penalty* of sin, according to any law whatever.

In confirmation of this view of the passage, we ask, why did the apostle appeal to the prevalence of death from *Adam to Moses*? This period was obviously distinguished by some *peculiarity*, decisive in its bearing on the apostle's argument. By what peculiarity? This is a vital question. We answer, then, not by the fact, that death during this period, was at all more a consequence of Adam's sin, or was more clearly *shown* to be a consequence of Adam's sin, than at any other period. Not that during the period there was no law, by which was the knowledge of sin, and by which sin could be charged, for it is beyond all denial, that there was such a law. What then was the fact peculiar to this period? Plainly this, and only this, that there was no law *threatening death*, as its penalty. To suppose the apostle, then, to speak of death in this case as a legal penalty, is to suppose him to argue from a fact, which directly contradicts his own doctrine,—to argue from the prevalence of death during a period, in which there was no law that had death as its penalty. The object of the apostle,

then, in referring to this period, is obvious. It was to show, that death *as an event common to all men*, did not come upon them as the penalty of any law whatever; but as an immediate consequence of personal sin, and remotely (in the manner before described) as the consequence of Adam's sin. Thus he proved from the universality of death, according to the original sentence under an *economy of grace*, that all men were under sin and condemnation.

But our brethren think, that the apostle appealed to the prevalence of death from Adam to Moses, for the very purpose of showing, that death during this period, came on men as the **LEGAL PENALTY** of *Adam's sin*. If this opinion can be shown to be wholly groundless, the main point at issue will be decided. We ask, then, how does the prevalence of death from Adam to Moses, prove that it was the legal penalty of Adam's sin? The vast multitude destroyed by the deluge and in Sodom and Gomorrah, are well known to have *deserved* death themselves; to have died, in some respect at least for their own personal sins. How then would such a case prove that men died solely for the sin of another? Surely, the apostle was unfortunate in referring to this fact to prove, that death reigned as the legal penalty of *Adam's sin* exclusively, or in any respect whatever.

Again,—how does this scheme exhibit the apostle, in other respects, as a reasoner? If we suppose, that there was a law at that period, viz. that given to Adam, of which death was the legal penalty, then the apostle gravely asserts, according to our brethren, that *although* sin is never punished with death as a legal penalty when there is no law threatening death,—*nevertheless*, i. e. notwithstanding this incontrovertible principle,—sin was punished with death, when there was a law threatening death! In other words, the apostle *contrasts* the period antecedent to the law by Moses, with that which was subsequent, by placing them in direct opposition, the one to the other, and then proves, that *there is no difference between them*!

But we shall be told, (and here lies the strength of our brethren's cause,) that the apostle *proves* that death from Adam to Moses, was the legal penalty of *Adam's sin*. We ask then, how does he prove this? Not by his assertion of the notorious fact, that *actual* sin was in the world during that period, **REIGNING unto death**,—pervading the whole race, and bringing this consequence with it. Nor will it be claimed that the apostle asserts in direct terms, that death at this period was the legal penalty of Adam's sin. How then does he prove it? Our brethren reply, *by inference*,—by premises which unavoidably support the inference. Let us then examine the premises, and the conclusion derived from them. The apostle asserts, that sin is not punished with death as a legal penalty,

when there is no law threatening death; and that death reigned before the Mosaic law, or from the introduction of sin to the giving of this law. Does it follow from this that death was the legal penalty of Adam's sin? As palpable a *non sequitur*, we think, as can easily be imagined. For how does the fact, that death reigned before the Mosaic law whose penalty was death, prove that death at this period, was the legal penalty of the law given solely to Adam? If death could be a consequence of sin in *no other way* than as its legal penalty, then indeed the inference might claim some plausibility. But, as we have seen, it can be, and is in fact a consequence in some *other way*. And this exposes at once, what we have always considered the error of our brethren, in deriving *this* inference from the apostles premises. They assume that death *is and must be* the legal penalty of some law. Hence *their* reasoning, (not the apostle's,) is this. The apostle asserts that sin is not punished with death as a legal penalty when there is no law threatening death; and that death reigned before the law, i. e. from Adam to Moses. Therefore, as *death is and must be the legal penalty of some law*, it follows that death at this period was the legal penalty for Adam's sin. This, we say, is the argument of our brethren in its entire strength, so far as we can understand it. And whether it be conclusive or not, even thus stated, who does not see that it *adds* to the premises of the apostle, the very position on which the whole inference depends, and takes for granted the very point in debate? '*Death is and must be the legal penalty of some law.*' Let this be proved. Let it be proved, in opposition to plain matter of fact; otherwise the argument of our brethren clearly depends on that sort of parallogism, called begging the question. Do we state this too strongly? Let then the argument be formed, which shall justify their conclusion, without *assuming* the position, that death is and must be the penalty of some law. Surely an assumption so entirely gratuitous, can need no other refutation than to say that it is *merely* an assumption, and one which contradicts plain matter of fact. The doctrine, that the millions of the human race, who died from Adam to Moses, died under the legal penalty of *Adam's sin*, has plainly no other basis, than that the apostle expected his readers to draw such an *inference* from *his* premises; and to draw it in face of the plain matter of fact, that death comes on men under an *economy of grace*, and on many, who, we know, were *delivered* from the curse of the divine law. Surely such a doctrine has but a feeble claim, to be ranked among the *articuli stantis vel cadentis ecclesiæ*,—the very foundation of the superstructure of redemption.

Secondly, We proceed to show, that the sin, of which the apostle speaks in this passage, is not *imputed* sin, but *actual, personal* sin.

It is not *imputed* sin; i. e. it is neither sin which we have committed in Adam as *one* with him, nor is it the mere *liability* to the punishment of his sin. The former, the Repertory grants. The question therefore is reduced to this,—whether the phrase *all have sinned* means, that *all are liable to the legal penalty of Adam's sin, without ill-desert of their own?* Now we say, that the language in question never has this meaning, neither as used by this apostle, or any other inspired writer, nor according to the ordinary use of language. To say then that it has this meaning in *this instance*, is to say it without evidence and against evidence. Let us then advert to the evidence alledged. It is said, that the phrase *all have sinned*, must include human beings, who cannot be said to have committed actual sin. But if so, then we may suppose, that they are said to have *sinned* in some other mode of sinning, as well as in that which is contended for. Other modes of sinning might be supposed quite as rational as that of being made liable to be punished for another's sin. And when we have once resorted to mere conjecture, we may as well conjecture one thing as another, especially, if the absurdity in the one case be no greater than in the other. But why must human beings, before actual sin, be included in the phrase? Suppose it were said that *all men reason*; should we suppose the language to include human beings before they *can* reason? Shall we be told that they *die*, before actual sin! But how does this prove, that they are liable to death, as the *legal penalty* of Adam's sin? Does the death of *all* sinless beings prove the same thing in respect to them? But we shall be told, that the words of the apostle are, that "*ALL have sinned.*" But who are the *all*? Plainly the *all men*, the πάντας ἀνθρώπους, Jews and Gentiles, whom the apostle is proving to be under sin and under law; and who therefore must be justified by faith, and not by the deeds of the law. And does his argument and his conclusion relate to human beings, who *cannot* commit sin on the one hand, nor be justified by *faith* on the other? Is the apostle discussing such subjects in respect to beings who are not moral agents, and who can neither commit sin, nor exercise faith? Is he applying his statements to beings, to whom they can have no possible application? Can it be supposed that a writer like Paul, in arguing and illustrating the necessity of justification by faith to both Jews and Gentiles, and founding his doctrine on the sinfulness of both as subjects of a law which is to *stop every mouth*, intended that his declarations should be extended to human beings, before moral agency? One thing is certain. Those whom the apostle proves to be sinners must, according to his argument, be justified *by faith*. Is this true of any human being, before moral agency? We might as well suppose the laws of the land against theft and murder to respect such beings. But it will

be said, that *all* means *all*, in the most *extensive* sense which the *word* will bear; i. e. we must interpret *to the letter*; we must disregard that great principle applicable to the interpretation of all popular language, *ne resecemus ad vivum*. But who does not know, that this is preeminently a false and dangerous mode of interpretation? *To see that it is false, apply it to the following passages. Rom. xii. 18. Jno. i. 7.; v. 23. Mark xvi. 15. According to this principle, the first of these passages gravely teaches, that we are not to quarrel with infants, as soon as they are born! Such trifling is unworthy of any one who interprets the word of God. The mere use of the word *all*, then furnishes not a particle of evidence. On the contrary, to interpret such general phraseology to the *letter*, is doing palpable violence to language, as the above examples, and universal usage in like cases, decisively show. But it will be said that, in the passages just cited, we have in the *known nature* of the things spoken of, a decisive warrant for some limitation of the language. True, and this establishes the principle, that the known nature of things *must* limit such language. And where have we this warrant for limitation, if not in the case now at issue? Look to the subject treated of—the scope and object of the writer,—and especially to the known nature of the predicate, *sin*, without begging the question about *imputed sin*; and what more decisive reasons can be supposed for concluding, that the phrase *all have sinned*, does not denote beings, who confessedly *cannot* sin. Plainly we have as good reason for saying that a being cannot *sin* before moral agency, as for saying he cannot *believe* before moral agency.

But we shall be further told, that the phrase, “even over them that had not sinned after the similitude of Adam’s transgression,” describes those who sinned before moral action. We ask, how does this appear? Not from the assertion that they did not sin as

*We cannot avoid expressing here our confident opinion, that the adoption of this principle of interpretation has been the occasion, more than any other single consideration, of confirming Unitarians and others in rejecting the doctrine of the total depravity of mankind. These men *know* the principle to be false, and of course reject the reasoning and conclusion founded upon it. And yet, on this principle have the orthodox extensively relied to prove the universal sinfulness of men. A good cause lost by a bad argument! Let the true principle of interpreting such general phraseology be applied; let the principle be stated thus; that such language is to be understood to include as much, as according to the plain dictates of common sense, it can be supposed to include; and then what is the import of this class of texts? Why plainly, that every human being sins as soon as he can sin, and does nothing as a moral agent but sin, till grace interposes. And now how stands the scriptural argument for the universal sinfulness of mankind? No man, who understands the laws of interpretation, will deny the above principle. But what is more undeniable, than that the language of the bible, interpreted by this principle, teaches that every human being, from the commencement of moral agency, till grace interposes, is a sinner.

Adam did. The difference between them and Adam, we have before shown consists in this, that they did not sin under a *law with the penalty of death*. This is the distinctive peculiarity. But it may be said that the beings here spoken of, are only a particular *class* of those who lived between Adam and Moses, viz. infants and idiots. We answer, that if this be so, then the other class *did* sin after the similitude of Adam's transgression; for otherwise, one class could not be thus distinguished from the other. But if all except infants and idiots, during this period, sinned like Adam, then the sin of this period, by which death reigned was chiefly *actual* and not *imputed* sin. Why then did the apostle refer to this period, to prove that death came on all, *exclusively* of actual sin, and *solely* for the imputed sin of Adam? Surely, he intended to prove no such doctrine as this.—But it will be claimed that the force of the word *even* is, to distinguish a part from the rest. The true force of this word as here used by the apostle, (keeping in mind the precise shape of the question he was discussing,) may be illustrated by an example. Suppose then the question in discussion to be, whether any ever had the small-pox, except those who had not been vaccinated; as it was in the present case whether any died as sinners, without being under a law whose penalty was death. Suppose that it was a known fact that between the years 1800 and 1810 the entire population of a city or country, all of whom had been vaccinated, had been visited with this disease. How natural in discussing the question now supposed, to appeal to the *fact* and say, 'the small-pox prevailed in that city from 1800 to 1810, even over them that had been vaccinated.' So the apostle; death reigned from Adam to Moses, even over such as it may be supposed, it never reigned over, viz. those who were under no law *whose penalty was death*. He thus states the fact, that death prevailed during this period, and then distinguishes the manner in which they who lived during this period sinned, from that in which Adam sinned. Why then, *must* this phrase denote human beings, who sinned *before* moral action?

But the doctrine of imputed sin, is contrary to the decision of the competent unperverted reason of mankind; i. e. contrary to common sense, and as such to be rejected. 'This expression of our opinion is not intended *ad invidiam*;' and the reason is, that we intend to *prove* what we say. We claim then that the reason of man is *competent* to decide in respect to the justice or injustice of the principle, that one being should be held liable to be punished without his consent, for the sins of another. This we have shown already. Again, aside from certain theological purposes, the decision or judgment of the human mind is uniform in condemning this principle. No one will hesitate to admit, that aside

from some supposed theological exigency, such a principle had never been thought of, except as a principle of palpable injustice and oppression; that it had never been ranked among even the possible truths, or principles of God's government; and that even now, aside from the supposed exigency, the united wisdom of man, were it to be consulted, would reject it with abhorrence. The very men who maintain it, are obliged to admit that God adopts directly the opposite principle as a *general* principle; while themselves to a man reject it with detestation, in all the relations of human life. It has indeed been applied to the government of God by wicked men, to impeach the equity of his administration, and God has disclaimed it with the severity of indignant rebuke. It has been ascribed to earthly tyrants, to illustrate their oppressions and cruelties. But aside from these instances and the one now under consideration, it is unknown and unheard of in the annals of moral legislation. One thing then is plain and undeniable, as a matter of fact, viz. that this principle *was devised for a purpose*. Certain providential events, and the *supposed* import of an apostle's declarations, were regarded as incapable of defense, without the principle. For this purpose therefore it was devised, for this purpose as a principle of equity, it has been exclusively applied. It has been applied *solely* to this purpose, with no evidence to justify its application, but the supposed necessity of the case. It has been applied solely to this purpose, in defiance of an otherwise universal, and confessedly correct judgment of the human mind. It has been applied solely to this purpose, though it confessedly involves the supreme lawgiver in the palpable inconsistency, of acting on opposite principles, as alike the principles of equity. It has been applied solely to this purpose, when otherwise it would have incurred universal execration. It was therefore *devised for a purpose*, and applied to carry a point in controversial theology; and more decisive proof of a perverted judgment cannot easily be imagined.

Nothing is more remote from our belief, than that they who have adopted this principle, have done so, with a clear perception of its nature. On the contrary, we believe, that at first, the supposed necessity of the principle for controversial purposes, secured its admission and gave it currency; and that soon the sanction given to it by great and good men, with other causes, effectually served to conceal its otherwise palpable deformity. This however is no reason, why its true nature should not be exposed; nor why, if it is contrary to the infallible judgment of the competent, unperverted reason of man, the fact should not be understood. If the bible is to be interpreted at the sacrifice of all such decisions and judgments of the human mind, then let this principle of interpretation be avowed. Let it be defended, if it can be. But if not, then

let the doctrine which involves such a sacrifice be rejected, although in a given instance, which is not the case here, we should be entirely unable to discover "the mind of the spirit."

We only add, that in our view, the doctrine of imputed sin, instead of relieving the passage in Rom. v. from difficulty, only creates insuperable difficulties, where otherwise none would exist. No one acquainted with the controversies respecting this text, will pretend, that aside from this doctrine of imputation, and the character and state of infants before moral agency, the passage presents any peculiar difficulties to the interpreter. Assumptions on this subject so unnatural, so strange, so foreign to the design of the writer, are the stumbling stones at the outset. Let them be dismissed from the mind of the interpreter, as things which the apostle never thought of in writing the passage, nor expected his readers to think of in interpreting it, and we venture to say, that this passage so long abandoned to controversy and obscurity, will be regarded as one of the most lucid in argument and striking in illustration, to be found in the writings of the apostle. We shall see, that God in his wisdom and goodness, determined to make such a trial of human nature in one man, that if he sinned, the merely legal system under which he was tried, should be modified by the introduction of an economy of grace;—that under this economy his descendants should be born, with the certainty of commencing their moral existence in sin, and as sinners be doomed to temporal death;—and that thus universal sin and death by sin, were introduced into the world by one man. We shall further see, that these facts were appealed to, and this manner of death's coming on all men, was distinguished from the manner of its coming according to a legal process, for the purpose of showing the universality of sin in respect to men,—not as the descendants of Abraham, but *as the descendants of Adam*; not as Jews, but as men;—and this for the further purpose of showing the universal necessity of that gracious justification, not from *imputed* sin, but from '*many offenses*,' which the gospel reveals. In accordance with this design, the apostle asserts and traces the similitude between Adam and Christ, in respect to the evils which come by the one and the blessings which come by the other. Then, that he may vindicate and magnify the goodness of God towards us in the plan of grace, he shows also the striking dissimilitude between them. As if he had said, If in consequence of the sin of one man, sin and death and condemnation come on many, great as the calamity is, the grace of God by one man Jesus Christ, far surpasses, as a blessing, the calamity as an evil. More, far more is gained by one, than is lost by the other. For what if the sin of one results in these evils to all; the gift by grace, which is by one, is a provision for justification from

many offenses. What if sin hath abounded ; grace doth *much more* abound. What if sin hath reigned unto death, even so shall grace to those who reject not its provisions, reign through righteousness unto eternal life by Jesus Christ our Lord. Behold the contrast ! By the first Adam, we are indeed subjected to sin and death. By the second Adam, we may not only retrieve the loss, but reign in holiness and bliss which shall never change and never end. If paradise is lost, heaven may be gained. Is it credible that when the apostle's mind was engrossed with such a theme, and aiming to conduct his readers to such a conclusion, he should introduce and discuss the perplexing topic of the imputation of Adam's sin to his posterity ? Did he teach that the whole race at the very moment of birth or before birth, were justly subject to the full penalty of God's law, for the sin of Adam ; and on the *justice* of such a doom, found the rich and abundant grace of God in man's redemption ?

(2.) The sin which the apostle ascribes to all men in this passage, is *actual sin*. The word ἡμαρτον (have sinned) is used to denote *actual personal sin*, and that only. Thus it is used by the apostle in this discussion. Vid. chap. ii. 12, iii. 23. If therefore any thing can be decided by language, this point is decided in the present case. For by what warrant are we told, that the word ἡμαρτον, (*have sinned*) means in this case, what it never meant in any other ? By what evidence are we called to believe that a word always used to denote what all the world, this particular instance excepted, understand to be sin, and regard as the only thing which can be sin, or properly called sin, denotes merely a *liability* to be punished, and this too, solely for the sin of another ?

Further, the sin of which the apostle speaks in the twelfth verse, is the same *kind* of sin of which he treats in the preceding discussion. This is undeniable not only because the twelfth verse is inferential from what precedes it, but because the apostle had been speaking of sin universally. But of what kind of sin, if indeed we are to suppose more kinds than one, had he been speaking ? The sin of being "enemies to God," ver. 10,—the sin for which Christ was delivered,—"*our offenses*," iv. 25,—sin in respect to which "*all have sinned and come short of the glory of God*,"—sin in respect to which both Jews and Gentiles *are all under sin*—sin by which all *have gone out of the way*, etc. etc. iii. 9—18,—sin *under the law*, which *stops every mouth*, and by which is *the knowledge of sin*, 19, 20,—sin which is *without excuse*, because when they *knew God, they glorified him not as God* ; sin committed under a revealed law, or the law written on the heart,—sin consisting in all vile affections, and abominable doings,—sin consisting in *doing things* which they *knew* to be *worthy of death*—sin under the gov-

ernment of that God whose judgment is *according to truth* against them which *commit* such things, and who will render to every man according to *his deeds*. And now we ask, is this only *Adam's sin imputed*? Does this kind of sin, thus described as personal acts and doings, consist after all, not in personal acts, but only in being liable to be punished for another's act? Is not the principle of our brethren most explicitly contradicted, in the clause—"who will render to every one according to *his deeds*?" Plainly, if language can distinguish one thing from another; if the apostle could describe what we mean by *actual personal sin*, he charged this and this only, on men. But this is the very sin of which he speaks, when he says in the passage under consideration, "WHEREFORE as by one man sin entered into the world." What sin, except that of which he had been speaking as common to Jews and Gentiles? As if he had said, Since the sin which I have proved to be common to all men, entered the world by one man, etc. And when he adds, repeating only what he had said before, that "*all have sinned*," does he mean that all are liable, though as yet *sinless*, to be punished for another's sin? Did the apostle prove all men to be the perpetrators of actual sin; did he describe the fact by the phrase *all have sinned*, and in that explicit manner too which we have seen; and does he now in the twelfth verse pursuing still his course of thought, turn aside to beings as yet personally *sinless*, and bring the same charge in the same language against them? We can as well believe, that he is predicating sin of the primordial atoms, that compose a human body.

The same thing is evident from the immediate context. "*By one man sin entered into the world*." What sin, except that which is in the world? And is this nothing, but the liability of personally *sinless beings*, to be punished for the sin of another? Was this the sin and the only sin which entered the world and by which death came? Is this the meaning of the apostle, that by one man, liability to death on the part of beings as yet *sinless*, entered the world; and death by this liability to death, and so death passed on all men, because all were justly liable to die for another's sin? Such reasoning we cannot charge upon the apostle. Again, "For until the law, sin was in the world." Does not the apostle here refer to the well known historical fact of abounding actual sin? Had a world been destroyed by a deluge of waters; and Sodom and Gomorrah by a storm of fire and brimstone, and this for actual sin; and was there no sin in the world resulting in death, but *imputed* sin; no sin but the sin of personally *sinless* beings? But this sin, which was in the world, was *the* sin by which *death* reigned. The sin therefore by which death reigned from Adam to Moses, was *actual* sin.

Farther, It will be admitted that the sin spoken of by the apos-

tle, is that by which death prevails. And here the question is not whether, "in Adam all die," i. e. whether death is not to all in some *mode*, a certain consequence of Adam's sin; but whether the apostle teaches, that they die irrespectively of personal sin? We say, that he teaches that men die indeed as the consequence of Adam's sin, but not without *actual* sin of their own. Adam introduced death by introducing sin. By one man *sin* entered into the world. But how does death come? "Death *by sin*;" and so,—by this connection,—"death hath passed on all men, because *all* have sinned." We do not see how the language of the apostle could be more explicit, in asserting personal *sin* to be the proximate cause of death.* He traces the same connection, between the *actual* sin from Adam to Moses, and the prevalence of death. For to what other sin could he refer, when he said, 'until the law sin was in the world?' But we have his own explanation of the fact. He describes the *very sin*, with which he connects death, as *the offense* which *abounded* by the entrance of the law. But what had the entrance of the law to do with *imputed* sin? Nor is this all. He describes the connection in terms the most unequivocal. "That as *sin hath reigned unto death*." What is this but sin, pervading the world and bringing with it death as its consequence? And will it be said or thought, that the apostle ascribed such a dominion to any sin, but *actual* sin? Or, to put the question in its true form, is mere *liability* to death without personal sin, the *offense* which abounded by the law,—the *sin* which reigned unto death?

Again, It will be admitted by all, that the sin of which the apostle treats, is that from which Christ died to procure our deliverance. In the preceding chapter then, we are told he was delivered for "*our offenses*." In this chapter, we have not a word about deliverance from imputed sin, nor yet from the death which is the consequence of sin; but a justification from "*many offenses*"—resulting not in exemption from that death which is common to all, but in *life*, in *eternal life*. Is this a deliverance from imputed sin, and from death as its legal penalty? Surely the apostle has here taught no such redemption.

We only add, that the apostle has placed the point in debate, be-

*To extricate the mind from its wonted associations with certain forms of expression, it is often useful to adopt a similar form on a different subject. Suppose then, it were to be said, 'that by one man, the small pox entered into a city, where it was known to prevail, and death by the small pox, and so death passed on all, because all had the small pox.' Would it be possible not to understand the language in a meaning exactly analagous to that which we give to the apostle's? Would any one suppose, that any died, by the mere *imputation* of the disease. And while both the disease and death, or either, would be naturally traced to one man, would any one suppose any connection between him and death, except through personal disease?

yond all question, by clearly and unambiguously showing, that the *very sin*, which is the consequence of one man's disobedience, is *actual sin*. After asserting in the 19th verse, that "by one man's disobedience many were made sinners," he adds in the next verse, "moreover the law entered that *the offense might abound*." We ask what *offense*? Plainly the offense, by which men became sinners in consequence of one man's disobedience. Was this then, *imputed sin*; mere liability to punishment for Adam's sin? or was it *actual sin*? How could the law by Moses cause *imputed sin* to abound? Or, any other sin to abound, except *actual sin*? And what law could do this, except a law, by which is the knowledge of sin? But this is the sin by which all are made sinners by one man's disobedience. *Actual, personal sin* then, is the sin which entered the world by one man. If any mode of describing this sin, either in its nature or its relations, in its effects or its consequences, can decide this point, it would seem that this question must be settled. Can the evidence now adduced, be set aside by the groundless assumption of *imputed sin*? Could this assumption be shown to be a *possible truth*, would it even then avail against the evidence now adduced to the fact, that *actual sin* was here intended? What then is the state of the argument, when even the possibility of the truth of such an assumption cannot be shown? Shall we do open violence to the dictates of common sense by giving to the apostle's language such a meaning, when it not only admits of another, but in view of the evidence in the case, absolutely demands another?

As another objection to New-England views, and a further instance which proves that one may be punished for the sins of another, our brethren claim, that Christ bore *the punishment* of our sins. They say, "it is admitted, that this is the scriptural mode of representing the subject. Our brethren do not say, that the phrase, to bear the iniquity of any one, means to bear the punishment of that iniquity as in the passage in Ezekiel, "The son shall not bear the iniquity of the father," and in a multitude of other cases." p. 471. In our opinion, there is a mistake in supposing the New England divines to admit, that Christ bore the *punishment* or *legal penalty* of our sins. But suppose it were so; and suppose further, that the scriptures so represent the subject; what has this to do with the propriety of calling the evils consequent on Adam's sin to his posterity, the legal penalty due to his sins? The cases are essentially and fundamentally diverse. The evils inflicted on the Savior were endured by *his explicit consent*; or by formal covenant and stipulation, including the promise of reward. Without insisting on the incongruity of rewarding one for being punished, and supposing the evils inflicted on Christ were the legal penalty due to our sins, still it does not follow, that evils inflicted on one *without his consent* as

the consequence of another's sin, can be called the legal penalty of that sin. The consent of the sufferer is essential not only to the equity of such infliction, but to justify the application of the word punishment in any possible sense of the term. Without such consent, the case would be one of palpable injustice and oppression, and can be described by no other terms, considered in respect to legal principles, or as a legal procedure.

But all this is hypothetical. We now ask for the evidence, that the evils inflicted on Christ are *properly* the punishment, or legal penalty due to our sins. The Repertory refers to this phrase in Ezekiel, "the son shall not bear the iniquity of the father," and other "similar cases." Now our brethren surely know that the same words and phrases have very different meanings in different cases; that in view of the *words* merely, we can rarely decide the meaning of a writer or speaker; that we must resort to the known nature of the subject, to the design of the writer or speaker, and other circumstantial evidence to determine his meaning; and that these may decisively show that the same phrase is used in one case in a very diverse import from that in which it is used in another. No one will deny this. To what purpose then does any one appeal to a case in which those who wished to impeach the justice of God, used the phrase in question to denote *bearing punishment*? How does this prove that when Christ is said 'to bear our iniquities,' or 'to bear our sins,' that it means, that Christ was *punished* for our sins? Plainly, this is an appeal to mere words, and this too, regardless of the acknowledged fact, that *mere words*, rarely decide the real meaning of a speaker. By such an argument, the legitimate and decisive evidence of the real meaning as furnished by the nature of the subject, the design of the speaker, etc. is utterly disregarded. This we deem a sufficient answer to our brethren's argument from the use of the phrase under consideration, until at least they shall enter into the real merits of the question. In view however of the real point in the case, we call on them to show, that when Christ is said 'to bear our iniquities,' or to bear sin, the meaning of the language is not exhausted in this, viz. that the sufferings of Christ answered the same purpose in respect to the support of the divine law, which the infliction of its penalty on transgressors, would have answered, and thus opened the way for their exemption from the penalty. Our brethren are not ignorant, that such is the opinion of their New-England friends, and that they have, what they esteem, some *reasons* to assign for its support. We regret that the Repertory should deal on this point in assertions, which touch not the merits of the question?

But says the Repertory, "this however (viz. that Christ was *punished* for our sins) on the Spectator's principle must be explain-

ed away, and the ground assumed, that the scriptures mean to teach us *ONLY* the fact, that Christ's death saves us." But he proceeds, "if this ground be taken, what shall we say to the Socinians, who admit, the fact as fully as we do." p. 472. Now this, we think, is representing us, as maintaining *ONLY* the fact, that Christ's death saves us, and thus as agreeing with the Socinians on the great subject of atonement. Do our brethren then mean to assert this? Do they really believe, that we, and all who deny that Christ was *punished* maintain nothing more than that his death saves us? Do they not know, that their orthodox friends of New-England, universally hold that the death of Christ was a real *expiation* for sin, by which God displayed his justice, i. e. his regard for his law, as fully as had he inflicted the legal penalty on a sinful world? Do they not know, that the Spectator, has with great frequency advocated this view of the subject, and with the fullest conviction of its vital importance to the christian system? Possibly, they do not know all this; and we do not by these inquiries intend to charge them with the knowledge of it; but only to express our surprise, that they ventured on such assertions.

The Repertory adds, "this is a subject which we cannot now enter upon. Our object is to show that this is no dispute about words." But how after all, does the writer show this? He *affirms* that "the denial of the doctrine of imputation involves either the *rejection* or serious modification of those of atonement and justification." But how this appears, he does not tell us. Do our brethren then maintain, that our sins, and ill-desert were transferred to Christ? They say, "we have not words to express our deep abhorrence of the doctrine." What then do they mean, what can they mean, when they say 'Christ bore the punishment of our sins,' which their New-England brethren do not as fully believe as themselves? The New-England divines refuse to call the sufferings of Christ *punishment*, because they suppose the word properly includes or implies, the *ill-desert* of the subject. The Repertory rejects the doctrine of ill-desert on the part of Christ, and still calls his sufferings the *punishment* of our sins. And is not this a dispute about words, and nothing else? What is the difference in things? If there is none, if the New-England divines believe every thing which belongs to the subject which the Repertory believes, how is the *rejection* or *serious* modification of the doctrines of atonement and justification involved in the belief of the former? Do these doctrines in their perfect form depend on the fact that the sufferings of Christ, are called by a given *name*? If this is not a dispute about words, let our brethren specify the difference in things. We venture to say that they cannot; and we think that they will not even attempt it.

Fourthly. Another reason assigned by our brethren for main-

taining their own scheme, and rejecting that of their opponents, is that a common difficulty, presses the latter with equal and even greater force than the former. This difficulty is, that the posterity of Adam should be subject to certain evils in consequence of his sin. According to the theory of the Repertory these evils are inflicted as the legal penalty of Adam's sin. According to the New-England divines they are to be traced to the sovereignty of God. In the one case, it is a legal procedure and a matter of legal justice; in the other, it is the sovereign appointment of divine wisdom and goodness. The latter view of the subject, our brethren think, "greatly aggravates the case." They say, "we instinctively shrink from the idea that God in mere sovereignty inflicts the most tremendous evils upon his creatures, while we bow submissively at the thought of their being *penal inflictions*, for a sin committed by our natural head and representative and in violation of a covenant, in which, by a benevolent appointment of God, we were included. p. 456.

We should, did our limits allow, take some exceptions to the manner in which the Repertory has here represented the views of the New-England clergy. Nothing for example is more remote from any opinion, which we suppose the latter to entertain, than "that God in *mere* sovereignty inflicts the most tremendous evils on his creatures." Not however to dwell on this topic, we proceed directly to the point at issue. It is agreed then, that certain evils come on Adam's posterity, in consequence of his sin; and the question now before us is, whether this fact is to be resolved into the sovereignty of God, or to be accounted for, by asserting that these evils are brought on beings who have not yet sinned, as a *punishment* for the sin of *Adam*? We prefer the former view of the subject, which supposes, that God acted in this matter from reasons worthy of infinite wisdom and goodness, though as a sovereign, he has not revealed these reasons.

We ask then, is this view of the subject entirely incredible? It will not be maintained, that God is bound to reveal the reasons of all his providential purposes and arrangements; nor that it is not his prerogative to fix the limits of such a revelation; nor if he sees fit in any given case, to act the part of a sovereign, by concealing from us the reasons of his purposes, that he is not actuated by such reasons as are in every respect worthy of himself. Nor will the fact be denied, that God, in respect to the reasons of his dispensations, often throws over them the veil of his sovereignty, and calls man not to question and dispute, but to confide and adore. Why then, may not the present be such a case? It is not even an unfrequent occurrence under the providence of God, that evil comes on one being or on many as the consequence of another's

crime, and yet that the reasons of the fact are entirely concealed from human discovery. Why then should it be thought a thing incredible, that under the government of God, certain evils should come on the race as the consequence of Adam's sin, and that we, in view of God's high counsels, should be obliged to say, 'even so Father, for so it seemeth good in thy sight?'

We ask again; is this view of the subject at all fitted to produce that 'instinctive shrinking' of the mind, which our brethren so sensibly feel, and so unhesitatingly avow? Because God conceals the reasons of some of his providential arrangements, does it become creatures of yesterday to withhold their confidence and to venture on impeachment? Must God submit the reasons of his providential purposes to human inspection and human judgment, or the wisdom and rectitude of his government, be boldly arraigned and denounced? This, we are sure, our brethren will not pretend. Why then is it, that they should 'instinctively shrink' from, and speak of being 'shocked' with, the view of the present subject, adopted by the New-England clergy? Not because the latter assign any specific reason as the *known* reason of this dispensation; for they assign no such reason whatever. Not because they suppose that God is not influenced by reasons worthy of his own infinite wisdom and goodness, for they fully believe that he is. What then is there in their view of the subject, so revolting "to the unsophisticated moral feelings of men?" Why, simply and solely, that without assigning any *known* reason, they deny the *reason* to be what our brethren affirm it to be, viz., to *punish* beings who have not yet sinned, for the sin of their common progenitor! Surely if our brethren can bow so submissively to God's providential appointment, in view of such a reason, submission would not be more difficult, had such a reason never been thought of. At any rate, it is beyond our power of discernment to see, how there can be no ground of confidence in God without this reason, and yet ground for the most cheerful acquiescence, when a reason is assigned which involves the divine procedure in the most flagrant injustice. It is truly surprising to us, that our brethren can bow submissively to God, when they believe that he inflicts the full penalty of his law on beings, who as yet have never sinned; but shrink back and are shocked, when a perfect God brings certain evils on men, without assigning the reason!

But we are told, that according to the view we advocate, 'men are brought up to their trial under the certainty of sinning,' and that this is 'not a fair trial.'—We might ask in reply, how, if this be so, is the difficulty removed by the view of our brethren? According to their view, men are brought into existence under the *same certainty* of sinning, and this, without any trial on their part whatsoever.

Nor is this all. According to the view of our brethren, mankind are brought under the certainty of sinning, as a part of the *punishment*, the legal penalty for the sin of another. If then the certainty of sinning, is not consistent with a fair trial, in a case in which there is confessedly a *real* trial, how is it consistent with a fair trial, when there is no trial at all;—when the evil is brought upon them, as a punishment for a sin they never committed? If the trial would not be a fair one, without such a *penal* infliction, how is it a fair one with it?

It is to no purpose to say, that the race had a fair trial in Adam. For still there was the same certainty that he would sin, and therefore this entire difficulty remains. We do not deny, that man was so tried in the case of Adam, that God might have, in view of the results of that trial, wise and good reasons, for bringing the race into existence under the certainty—though not a necessity—that all would sin. But we deny, that it was such a trial of the race, that evil could be inflicted on them as a *legal penalty* for his sin. Be this as it may, if the certainty of sinning is inconsistent with a fair trial, it was inconsistent with it in the trial of Adam as our representative.

But how does it appear, that a trial, which will certainly result in sin, is not a fair trial? Was not the trial of the angels who fell, as well as that of our first parents, a fair trial, and did not God know that they would sin? If the certainty of sin is inconsistent with a fair trial, then in the case of any being who will sin, a fair trial is impossible. In respect to every being who sins, there was a previous certainty that he would sin. According to this objection, then *no being who sins can have had a fair trial*; and the equity of God in the probation of every such being is impeached. But can such a principle be defended? Why then we ask, is not the trial of Adam's descendants a fair trial? If they enter upon it, as the New-England divines maintain, complete moral agents, in every respect as truly qualified to do right as to do wrong, with no fatal necessity or compulsion, as the ground of certainty that they will sin, why is it not a fair trial? What more can be necessary to such a trial, than that life and death, good and evil should be set before the free choice of a complete moral agent? To make it a fair trial, must man's choice be forced by physical influence, to fix on the right object! This would destroy moral agency. Must something be done which shall secure the certainty of a *right choice*? But this supposes, that no being under a fair trial, would ever sin, and of course impeaches God's entire moral administration. What our brethren intend, when they say, that "for a probation to be fair, it must afford as favorable a prospect of a happy, as of an unhappy conclusion," we are unable to discover. If they mean, that the probation to be

fair, must exclude the certainty of sinning, we have shown the opinion to be groundless. If they mean, that there must be no certainty either that the subjects will or will not sin, this is impossible; for be the event which it may, it was previously certain. If they mean, that the beings tried should possess the powers of free moral agents, qualifying them for right as well as wrong moral action, with a great preponderance of reasons and motives to right action, we readily subscribe to the opinion. That the last is the condition of mankind *from the first*, as subjects of the moral government of God, according to the views of the New-England divines, our brethren cannot be ignorant. They cannot be ignorant, that the former regard all the penal evil, to which man is exposed as the punishment of sin committed by the most perfect free agents, in the voluntary unconstrained exercise of their moral powers.

But the real difficulty is not, to see how the moral probation of man is fair and equitable; nor how the sin of many should, in *some* mode of consequence, follow the sin of one. Nor does the difficulty result from the *natural* evil which exists in the world, since all this may be the necessary means of good; and such evil furnishes no evidence against the goodness of its author. But the difficulty is to see, *how a perfect God should adopt such a constitution or system, that universal sin in man, should be its certain consequence.* On this point there have been diverse theories among Calvinists in New-England, as well as elsewhere. As to ourselves we are happy to believe, that the opponents of Mr. Barnes, and we suppose our brethren of the Repertory, agree so nearly with us on this point, that the difference, if there is any, can scarcely be deemed worthy of notice. And we appeal on this question, to the Christian Advocate, edited by Dr. Greene of Philadelphia. On the subject of moral evil then, the Christian Spectator, has called in question two positions, frequently maintained by New-England divines; positions which we consider as groundless assumptions, or entirely incapable of proof. These positions are, first, *that sin is the NECESSARY MEANS of the greatest good, and so far as it exists, is preferable to holiness in its stead.* Secondly, *that God could in a moral system have prevented all sin or at least, the present degree of sin.*

In regard to these positions, the ground taken by ourselves in common with Dr. Taylor is, not that they are false, but that they cannot be PROVED to be true; and that therefore they fail to support that explanation of the existence of moral evil, which is wholly based on their truth. Some we are aware have charged us with going farther than this. Dr. Woods for instance, though he admits that Dr. Taylor "does not directly affirm the *opposite* positions," charges him with holding them. The same charge has been brought against

us. We feel constrained to say the charge in both cases is groundless. Not a sentence nor a word can be adduced to justify such a charge. Still there are those who repeat the charge, when they know that we have disclaimed the opinion again and again. Some degree of patience, we confess is requisite to bear with misrepresentation, which we deem so palpable. We repeat it; the only ground taken by ourselves, and as we suppose by Dr. Taylor, on this point is, that these positions are *gratuitous*, or cannot be *proved* to be true; thus neither affirming nor denying in regard to the *actual* truth of either of them.

We now return to Dr. Greene. In his review of Wood's letters, Christ. Adv. vol. viii. p. 632, he says "the sum of what we have to say on these propositions (the two given above) is, that we would neither affirm nor deny in respect to either of them." Again he says, "but as Dr. Woods has to defend the principle that *sin is the NECESSARY MEANS of the greatest good*, which his *whole argument admits*, it is here that his opponent will have him at an advantage, an advantage which we perceive he has already taken." Dr. Greene further says; "but to the principle in question we early learned to demur, and our reading and reflection and observation since have confirmed us in the belief, that it is neither supported by scripture nor sustainable on sound and satisfactory principles of reason." How entire then is the agreement between Dr. Greene and ourselves in pronouncing the above positions *gratuitous assumptions*, which can furnish no explanation of the origin of moral evil.

We believe, too, there is a substantial agreement between us on another point. In what we said respecting the mode of accounting for the origin of sin, on the above assumptions, we aimed simply to show, that this mode is unsatisfactory; and that by dismissing these assumptions as incapable of proof, the subject would be exempted from great and obvious difficulties. We have never said that *any* reason for the existence of sin can be proved by man, to be the true reason. The most we have ventured to say is, that if we suppose it *possible*—not *certain* or established as *true*, that sin is an evil incidental (in respect to the divine prevention) to the best system of moral influence, the subject would be exempt from difficulties or objections. For if this can be *supposed* then no fair reasoner will ever alledge objections and difficulties, without *first proving* that sin is *not* thus incidental to the best system. But have we in saying this, affirmed, that sin *is* thus incidental? Nothing like it. We have simply placed the burden of proving the contrary upon the objector. Here we have left the subject, assigning *no* reason for the existence of sin, as the true reason,—giving no account of it as the true account, whatever. With the man, there-

fore, who says he knows not the reason for the permission of sin,—it is a mystery, and he is satisfied to say, “Even so Father,” we have no controversy.

Let us now hear Dr. Greene. In reference to Dr. Woods’ attempt at explanation, on the assumption, that *sin is the necessary means of the greatest good*, Dr. G. says; “Is not this said for the purpose, and for the sole purpose, of giving a degree of explanation to “a profound mystery?” “We know,” he proceeds, “that sin is an evil, etc. But its *origin* in God’s creation, or the *why* and the *wherefore* that he has permitted it, is “a profound mystery.”——“Here let us rest, and let the mystery alone.”

Now in what respect have we or Dr. Taylor gone beyond this. We have said of the two assumptions stated above, that they cannot be *proved* to be true; neither ‘affirming nor denying in regard to either of them.’ And so has Dr. Greene. We have thus left the subject unexplained, in respect to any *known reason* for the existence of sin; we have left it as “a profound mystery.” So far therefore, we have said nothing but what Dr. G. has said. In saying, that on a *given supposition* the objections derived from the existence of sin to God’s moral perfection, may be refuted, we have perhaps, said what Dr. Greene would not say. If so, then on this point, we differ; and it is the sum total of the difference. And what is the amount of it? Not that we pretend to assign the true reason for God’s permission of sin; and that Dr. G. does not. Neither do this. Not that Dr. Woods’ reason is considered by us as unsatisfactory; for Dr. Greene most unequivocally affirms that it is so. But in this we differ, if at all, viz. that by regarding certain positions as incapable of proof,—which Dr. G. and ourselves agree are really so,—we on our part think the common objections to God’s moral perfection, may be fairly set aside. Whether this is Dr. Greene’s opinion we know not. It is the only remaining question as to any difference between us on this point.

Here we leave the subject. We have dwelt chiefly on the doctrine of imputation, because peculiar stress has been laid on it, by the opponents of Mr. Barnes; and because we do sincerely think, notwithstanding the attempt of the Repertory to prove the contrary, that the dispute on this subject is now chiefly a dispute about words. What will be the result of the present contest in the Presbyterian church, we dare not predict. But we do fervently pray, that the God of peace may dispose the hearts of our brethren there, to feelings of kindness and mutual forbearance, which shall save them from a convulsion which may rend that church forever asunder.